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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT AND THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Held April 24, 25, 26, 27, 1906

At Atlantic City

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, EDITOR

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

1906

STANFORD LIBRARY

PREFACE

THIS volume of Proceedings, the largest thus far published by the League, is a fair reflex of its expanding activities. By an examination of its contents can be seen at a glance how varied are its interests, how practical its methods, how useful its conclusions.

The papers on the now always timely question of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities are particularly valuable in that they are the utterances of men who have had actual experience in dealing with the questions they discuss, either as mayors or superintendents of the plants. The one academic paper is from the pen of a long-time student who has given personal attention to both American and foreign experiments.

The papers on the subject of municipal accounting are equally practical and will be found to supplement the series on municipal utilities and those on municipal experiences.

The electoral reform papers are especially pertinent at the present time in view of the very general discussion of electoral methods throughout the country. There is no important community in the United States where the questions of nominations, of the registration of voters, of the ballot, of election expenses, of the referendum and the initiative, in some one form or another, are not up for discussion and determination. These papers, based as they are on a wide experience and observation by trained men in thorough sympathy with the movement for municipal and political regeneration, are a storehouse of information and suggestion for municipal and political workers everywhere.

The same may be said of the series detailing municipal experiences. These have always proved to be an interesting and valuable feature of previous volumes, and the present set is fully up to, if it does not exceed the high standard of its predecessors. The description of the instructive and striking

Galveston experiment by one who has been identified with it from the start and the graphic accounts of the striking work done by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy and the New York City Club constitute notable contributions to the literature of municipal advancement.

The Round Table Conferences have been reported in their entirety because of the vital interest and timeliness of the topics discussed. There were no more helpful features of the Atlantic City meetings than these Conferences. The interchange of views as to ways and means and as to the application of general principles by active workers is always interesting, and is doubly so in this connection because of the standing, experience and public spirit of the participants.

The meetings of the League are never largely attended; but the delegates who do attend are present because of their deep and abiding interest in its work. They are the leaders of the movement in their respective localities. They come full of the subject, full of a keen desire to help and to be helped. Consequently the discussions are of a high order. There is no spread-eagleism, no self-glorification, but always a sincere desire to know the truth and follow it.

In addition to a fuller discussion of the formal papers, the Round Table Conferences, inaugurated at Chicago in 1904, continued at New York in 1905, and amplified at Atlantic City in 1906, afforded opportunities for free "heart-to-heart" talks touching matters of pressing importance.

This volume is sent out with the hope that it will prove helpful to every lover of his country who desires to raise the municipal standards of his own locality and is seeking for guidance and light.

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TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

AND

FOURTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

HELD AT

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,

April 24, 25, 26 and 27, 1906.

THE first session was called to order at three o'clock p. m., in the Hotel Chalfonte, on Tuesday, April 24th, by Horace E. Deming, Esq., Chairman of the Executive Committee, in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of our Vice-President, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, who was to have presided at this meeting, I, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, will call the meeting to order.

The League is present as the guest of the Hotel Chalfonte, of the Board of Trade of Atlantic City, of the Hotelkeepers' Association of Atlantic City, and of the city of Atlantic City, and we shall now have the great pleasure of listening to the Hon. Franklin P. Stoy, the Mayor of Atlantic City.

MAYOR STOY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am not perfectly familiar with the work of this organization, but it is not necessary that I should be in order to perform my part to-day, which is to bid you a very hearty welcome to Atlantic City. (Applause.)

Address of Welcome.

A great many think that there should be some one from the city to say a word at the opening of a convention such as this, and the Mayor being the handiest person, he is supposed to take that part. I always like, on occasions like this, not only at home, but in other places, to listen to some one else while I am with the party.

My mission to-day is to bid you welcome, Mr. President, to our city and to listen to an account of some of the good work that you are doing in this noble body. We are here to-day to listen to remarks from some of those who are tried in this line, who have seen the strides that have been made in the upbuilding of city government. We hope to listen to a number of addresses during this conference stating how a city government should be run, and I want to say to you that you have never selected a

place during your life as an institution that is more in need of good advice than this city. I therefore feel it my duty to make my remarks short, so as to give us a chance to benefit by listening to something good in the way of advice on "How to Run a City Government."

Some one wrote me in reference to the remarks that I should make before this League to-day, and directly following it more inquiries were made as to what I would say. This is a peculiarity of the newspaper men, who always want to know exactly what I say before I say it. My answer to them in this case was that I should be a listener and hoped to profit by having this organization in Atlantic City.

Let me say to you, gentlemen, that with this welcome we extend to you the freedom of the city. If I do not have the pleasure of meeting all who attend this gathering, that same welcome and that same freedom is extended to all who take part in this convention. Let me thank you for giving me this privilege of being with you to-day. I will not detain you further than again to extend to you a hearty welcome, and to express the hope that all who are here to listen to these words of advice will be profited; and we hope that you will remember in selecting your meeting-place for future conventions that we always have room for an institution of this kind, and we assure you a hearty welcome at all times. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence, because of illness, of Mr. Leeds, the President of the City Council, we shall listen to his associate on behalf of the City Council, Mr. William B. Bell.

MR. BELL: Unfortunately, President Leeds of the City Council, whom I have the honor to represent on this occasion, is threatened with an attack of grip, and in his absence I can only express his sincere regret at his inability to be present and to tell you what he would have said had he been here.

I am informed that there are still some people who believe that the National Municipal League is made up largely of talkers—good talkers it is true, but talkers, who talk without very much result sometimes—and I want to present to you some facts that have occurred here in Atlantic City, and which seem to me to furnish a very interesting and strengthening contradiction of this belief.

Influence of the League.

On January 17th of this year it was rumored that the National Municipal League would meet in Atlantic City this year, and on the day following one of our leading councilmen resigned. (Laughter.) No explanation was made. Councilmen, by the way, in Atlantic City occupy a very much more important position than they do in many large cities. On January 23d this rumor of the League's meeting in Atlantic City was confirmed, and on the following day another leading councilman resigned. On January 27th of this year it was reported that Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, President of the League and the Secretary of the Navy, would make one of the leading addresses—and another prominent official of Atlantic City

resigned. (Laughter.) On April 5th, a very short time ago, as you see, we were again reminded by the papers that the League would meet in Atlantic City in barely more than two weeks, and his Honor Mayor Stoy, to whom you have just had the pleasure of listening, went out and raided thirteen slot machines, and cleaned up the town generally. (Laughter.) So that you can see this furnishes a very interesting and satisfactory contradiction of any such belief.

Many of the good citizens of the town are eagerly awaiting the result of these three days of conference, and possibly by the time you leave our

ERRATA.

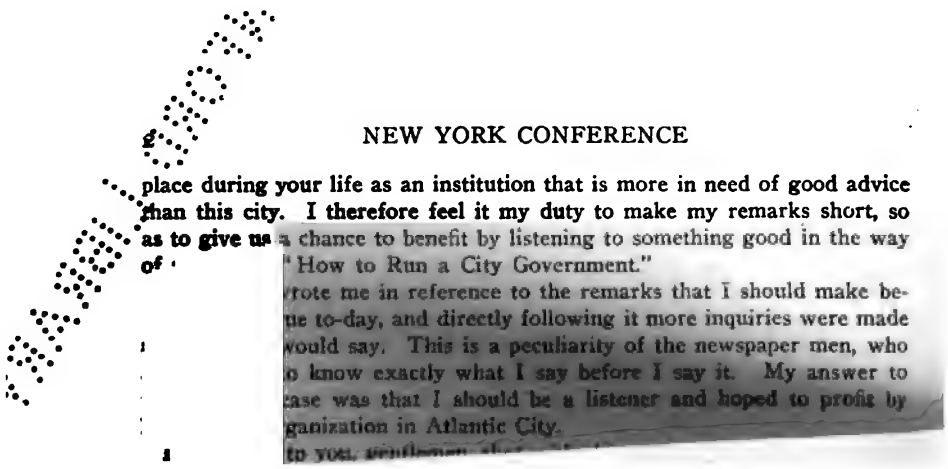
The running heads over the first 66 pages of this book should read *ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE* instead of New York Conference as they do. To have made a correction of this error after it was discovered would have greatly delayed the issuing of the book and materially increased the cost.

dulum of the United States, if I may so call it, has certainly swung in the right direction a great distance during the last few years, and there seem to be some signs that the heretofore inevitable reverse swing is about to set in and that it is highly important that we should get all the results which can possibly be obtained from the tremendous moral movement which has occurred during the last two or three years.

I think that there is a principle in psychology that the man who having had a good impulse has failed to register that impulse by some good deed, some corresponding deed, is in a deeper and worse moral condition than if he had never had the impulse. We want to take advantage of this impulse which certainly has spread throughout all of the United States, and register it some way even beyond what it has already been registered.

Now, it seems to me that this League is paramountly a body that can assist us in doing work of that kind. I have been very much interested, in looking into the records of the League, in coming across certain very practical suggestions about municipal accounting. I know of nothing that would help more in the economical administration of municipal govern-

place during your life as an institution that is more in need of good advice than this city. I therefore feel it my duty to make my remarks short, so as to give us a chance to benefit by listening to something good in the way of "How to Run a City Government."



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Many of the good citizens of the town are eagerly awaiting the result of these three days of conference, and possibly by the time you leave our standing municipal problem of how to pave Atlantic Avenue may have been solved.

I suppose that the chief object of this League is to get good men interested in politics on the right side, and certainly during the last few years a great deal has been accomplished in that direction. I suppose it would be [illegible] attempt to attribute to any one man or any one body the credit [illegible] due for the results which have been accomplished in this direction, and yet I believe that to no inconsiderable extent the result has been due partly to this League and partly to the men who have derived inspiration from the League.

Interest of Good Men.

And yet there is another point which is of very vital importance, and that is when those good men become interested, to so direct their efforts that their interest may have results, and certainly in a city the size of Atlantic City, one of the smaller cities of the country, as compared with New York and Philadelphia [illegible] from which many of you gentlemen come, it is exceedingly [illegible] men inexperienced as we are, to know what to [illegible] accomplish the results. The moral pendulum of the [illegible] it has certainly swung in the right direction [illegible] the last few years, and there seem [illegible] reverse swing is about to [illegible] we should get all the results [illegible] moral [illegible] three years.

[illegible]

ment than the system of uniform accounting which you have largely suggested and which you have worked out so that people can get practical ideas of it.

Accounting Methods and the Smaller Communities.

Now, I venture to say that in many council committees—committees of finance in the smaller cities—these practical results and suggestions which you have reached are almost unknown, and it seems to me that if some means and methods could be devised of bringing the finance committees and councilmen generally in the smaller cities in touch with the results which you have produced that it would be a most happy event for such cities. However, that is a question which it seems to me the League is preëminently qualified to handle. In my desire to bring the smaller communities into closer touch with the League I have overlooked for the moment the main object of my remarks, and that is to second the words of welcome which Mayor Stoy has just uttered. I assure you that Mr. Leeds joins in them most heartily. A good many visitors, as of course you know, come here simply for pleasure and relaxation, and it is particularly gratifying to welcome an association of men who come here and have the interest of our city at heart.

On behalf of Mr. Leeds and of the City Council of Atlantic City, I take the greatest pleasure in seconding the Mayor's words of welcome to Atlantic City to the National Municipal League, and to its members and to the friends of its members.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is certainly most encouraging, Mr. Mayor and Mr. Councilman, to the League to have this cordial welcome, to know that there are still two surviving and healthy officials of the town who grant us the freedom of the city.

I cannot but feel myself that the suggestions that have been made by the last speaker, if carried out in Atlantic City by him and by the Mayor, will make an example to the small cities of the county—which the other small cities need. And on the part of the League I commend to the financial officials of Atlantic City careful study of the system of municipal accounting which has been worked out by our National Municipal League committee. I can say to the Mayor and to the Council and to the absent officials of the city that we shall not only appreciate, but we shall do our best to enjoy the freedom of the city during our short stay.

We shall next have a report from our Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, on "Practical Progress during the Year."

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, I have here a report which if I read it in its entirety would occupy a large portion of time than it would be proper for me to occupy. This is largely due to the fact that there have been during the year so many events of special significance and importance to record. The most that I can hope to do in the time allotted to me is to read some of the illustrative extracts from the paper to indicate the extent of the practical progress of the year.

Mr. Woodruff then read extracts from his report. (For further reference to the address see the Table of Contents.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall now have a report from the Treasurer, which Mr. Pendleton, of Cincinnati, will read.

The following report was read by the Treasurer:

GEO. BURNHAM, JR., TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

Balance April 1, 1905		$181.93
RECEIPTS.		
Dues	$4,700.00	
Contributions	3,785.50	
Sales of Proceedings	469.86	
		8,955.36
		$9,137.29
EXPENDITURES.		
Printing and stationery	$1,003.03	
Postage and addressing	1,509.15	
Salaries	3,000.00	
Clerical work	687.94	
Clippings	119.25	
Traveling expenses	425.85	
General expenses	372.50	
New York Committee's expenses	690.00	
General Committees expenses	76.85	
Proceedings	977.60	
		8,862.17
Balance April 1, 1906		$275.12

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, I move that the report be referred as usual to an Auditing Committee of two, to be appointed by the Chair.

MR. PENDLETON: I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there be no objection it will be so referred.

Mr. Deming, as Chairman, made the following oral statement for the Executive Committee:

Report of Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee has been pretty actively at work through the year. I shall give you simply an informal outline of some of the work done by the committee, more to give you an idea of the varied kinds of things that come to its attention than with any thought of giving you a complete report. A complete report would occupy an entire session at least.

The membership of the National Municipal League grew in the last year from 892 to 1,149, an increase of 257, of which New York contributes 130, Massachusetts, Missouri, and Pennsylvania 14 each, and New Jersey 10; the rest of the increase is distributed pretty evenly throughout the country. Perhaps the Executive Committee can give you a better idea, or rather a better picture, of the growth of the League by telling you that up to May, 1896, which was substantially two years from the date when the League was founded, the total receipts of the League were $1,175; while in the year ending April, 1905, the receipts from dues were $3,500, and in the year ending April 1st, 1906, the receipts from dues were $4,700. We are making progress, and pretty good progress. Sometimes we of the Executive Committee feel that it gives us a bit of encouragement when we do not seem to be making much of an advance to look back, and we find that after all momentum is putting in its work.

During the last year the Executive Committee has been endeavoring to establish additional committees to assist in the general work of the League. It was felt that the general interest in municipal betterment had spread so widely that the Executive Committee could not unaided do even such portion of the work as the National Municipal League undertakes to do. And so we have been endeavoring to form an Advisory Committee, consisting of a picked membership of residents in the different states, our hope and intention being in this way to establish in every state in the Union a center of influence and energy for the improvement of city government. We hope also, through the establishment of the Advisory Committee, to receive more suggestions, fresher news and a stronger impulse from our members in the different states, and we hope through our central office to b eable to impart the information received from one city to all the other cities. Our Advisory Committee is about completed. At a later session of the League a formal announcement of its membership will be made. We have as members of the Advisory Committee representatives from all professions and classes, men in public life and men in private life, a fine collection of the best types of American citizenship, and we have them from every New England and Middle state, from every state of the Central West and on the Pacific Slope, and we are beginning to get a very good representation indeed in the South.

Additional Committees.

There is another matter in which I think you may be interested. We have established a clipping sheet service. That means that once a month we send out to every member of the League and to several hundred different newspapers a little sheet made up of fresh news in regard to municipal progress in different parts of the country, of short articles and extracts from articles on municipal questions, most of them prepared for us, and some of them selected by us. These supply an immense amount of news that is printed throughout the country, giving information to every one interested in

Publicity.

municipal matters; they also form the basis of a great many editorials, and our Secretary's office is very often interested to recognize familiar writings in the editorial columns of many widely separated newspapers. In this way sound municipal doctrine and fresh municipal betterment news are disseminated through every part of the country.

I think, too, that you may perhaps get some idea of the variety, as well as the extent of the influence in one way and another of the National League, if I tell you that in the last year there have been four large conferences, notable conferences, to the success of which the League has contributed. Last August and September at Portland, Ore., there was a Municipal Week in connection with the Lewis & Clark Exposition. This last January there was a conference in Chicago of the militant forces for municipal betterment held by the invitation of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago. In February there was a meeting in Washington for the purpose of considering the question of public accounting, and more recently in March there was a conference on the subject of ballot and primary reform and election reform generally, in New York City, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. You see these conferences have stretched from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Civic Weeks.

When the managers of the Lewis & Clark Exposition decided to have as a part of that exposition a Municipal Week to consider questions of municipal betterment and various municipal problems, the National Municipal League was called upon to give its aid and coöperation to make that meeting a success. We were the organization that was immediately appealed to to assist. We did assist. We did coöperate. It was a wonderfully successful week, and a great deal of sound municipal doctrine was taught during that week on the Pacific Slope. I think, almost without exception, every speaker was a member of the National Municipal League residing in some part or other of the United States. This will give you some hint of the amount and the extent of quiet, unselfish work being done by members of this League when called upon.

We shall hear more about the meeting in Chicago in a paper shortly to be given. But what interested me in that meeting was that when the young militant, municipal reformers who got together in Chicago to exchange their different experiences and to help one another by this exchange of information came to formulate a platform of principles on which the militant forces could unite, they agreed upon a platform which might have been written at the original meeting of the founders of the National Municipal League. It is certainly a cause for congratulation that the soundness and practicability of our principles are becoming generally recognized.

Conferences.

The Washington Accounting Conference was attended by public accountants and by public officials interested in methods of public accounting who came from many different and widely separated parts of the country. The

soundness and practicability of the principles of accounting advocated by the League met with outspoken approval at this conference.

The Electoral Reform Conference in New York City included the whole subject of electoral methods, and was attended by electoral reformers gathered from a score of different states. Many members of the League participated, and the views and recommendations of its committee on municipal nomination reform were presented to the conference. It was an exceptionally fine opportunity for educative discussion.

Election of Officers.

We shall now have a report from the Committee on Nominations presented by Mr. A. T. Bell, of Atlantic City. Mr. Bell presented the following report:

TO THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE:

The undersigned Committee on Nominations respectfully presents the following nominations for officers and members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:

For President: Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore.

For First Vice-President: Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.

For Second Vice-President: Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Ore.

For Third Vice-President: H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans.

For Fourth Vice-President: Edmund J. James, University of Illinois.

For Fifth Vice-President: Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University.

For Treasurer: George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

For Secretary: Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

For members of the Executive Committee: Horace E. Deming, Chairman, New York; Harvey Stuart Chase, Boston; Robert Treat Paine, Jr., Boston; Dudley Tibbets, Troy; Robert W. DeForest, New York; George Haven Putnam, New York; George B. Hatch, New York; Winfred T. Denison, New York; William G. Low, Brooklyn; Harry A. Garfield, Princeton; Harry B. French, Philadelphia; Clarence L. Harper, Philadelphia; J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg; Vance C. McCormick, Harrisburg; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; Oliver McClintock, Pittsburg; H. D. W. English, Pittsburg; William P. Bancroft, Wilmington; Henry B. F. Macfarland, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Buckler, Baltimore; Elliott Hunt Pendleton, Cincinnati; L. E. Holden, Cleveland; Frederick C. Howe, Cleveland; Lessing Rosenthal, Chicago; J. L. Hudson, Detroit; John A. Butler, Milwaukee; David P. Jones, Minneapolis; Henry L. McCune, Kansas City; Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville; W. S. Parkerson, New Orleans; Ernest C. Kontz, Atlanta; James H. Causey, Denver; Frank J. Symmes, San Francisco.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE MCANENY,
FRED. S. HALL,
HENRY W. LEEDS,
Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the nominations, are there any other nominations or suggestions? Are there any remarks?

On motion, the report of the Nominating Committee was adopted and the Secretary was authorized to cast a unanimous ballot for those nominated, which he did, and the gentlemen named were declared duly elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next in order is a paper on the "United Cities Platform," which will be read by Mr. Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, First Vice-President of our League.

MR. RICHARDSON: This paper is presented because, in connection with the review of the events of the past year, it was thought that the action to which it relates should be noted and endorsed by the National Municipal League by a special paper for the purpose.

For further reference to Mr. Richardson's paper see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to a paper on "Work among College Men," which will be read to us by Mr. William S. Moorhead, President of the Yale City Government Club, and also President of the Intercollegiate League of Civic Clubs.

MR. MOORHEAD: I am very sorry that I shall not be able to read a paper to you. I wrote one out, but as I was coming down on the train I looked for it and found I had five pages in the middle. It seems to me it is quite apropos that I should be called upon to speak thus early in the deliberations of this convention. It seems to me that the Chairman must have a truly dramatic sense of climax, is imbued with the force of Spencer's inductive theory, or perhaps Darwinian evolutionism. I believe it is the first step in considering social questions to get at the basal man. In him are to be observed the promptings, the tendencies and the desires of nature much more easily than in one who has been changed by outside influence, or "inflooence," as I believe the technical term is. (Laughter.) After you have observed in the primitive man the unconvertible laws of human nature, the next thing is to catch the animal when he is young and develop the good traits in preponderance to the bad ones. Now there are many places, of course, where young men may be caught. A college is one place, and a good and favorable place; perhaps better specimens could be gotten in the outside world, but this is one place where he can be caught. He must be taught all the tricks of parties. Not only the method by which he may advance his own proper principles, but the methods of the unprincipled if he is to guard against them effectively. But after all the salvation of a class must come from within, and this is true of a college community if it is anywhere. It is the self-imposed tasks taken up by college undergraduates that are carried through with most enthusiasm and with greatest skill. Realizing these facts, civic clubs have been established in very many of the universities of the country. As these clubs are somewhat novel, it may interest you to hear about them—at least your Secretary

Work among College Men.

has led me to suppose that it would. I shall describe the one about which I know the most, and from this you may learn the general idea of these clubs, for they are very similar.

We have many courses in political science in our colleges, but they do not get at the practical side of the question. They emphasize principles, but they do not take up the shading off that is necessary when it comes to the practical working out of them. Now our attention has been directed mostly to the cities, the municipalities. Bryce justly called them the sore spots of the country, and they consequently require more attention. Our primary object is study; study of municipal questions, and also state and national ones. To carry out this object we generally appoint two men to look up a given city. The one looks up the structural machinery by which the government is run, the other takes up the abuses to which this machinery has been put. This is generally a report upon the "machines." After this report has been made there is an informal discussion by the different members of the club—of course of a very primary nature, but it is a step in the right direction I believe.

Another method by which we carry on the study of political problems is by securing men who are practical workers in politics to come to "smokers" of the club to give informal talks, and after these talks the members of the club ask such questions as occur to them. In this capacity we have had such men speak as the President of the National Municipal League, and its Secretary; also Judge Jerome, Honorable Herbert Parsons, and Mr. Billy Kent, of Chicago. We have endeavored, with more or less success, to coöperate with the political science department of the college. The men whom we have up are often very interesting speakers for a course in "American Social Conditions," and the men who lecture in that course are also very interesting to be heard at our "smokers." Lincoln Steffens we secured in this way. As you will see, the work is largely academic. It cannot well be otherwise. The membership of the Club is non-partisan. The members themselves frequently are very strong partisan. We do not attempt, at least at present, to attain the absolute. We cannot, of course, form a party—I don't suppose we want to. If we can induce men to stand for good politics, no matter with what party they become affiliated with, we think that we have accomplished our main object. The tendency among college men is to join a party.

Yale City Government Club.

At a recent trip to Washington one of the members of our club, who was going straight into Tammany as soon as he graduated, told President Roosevelt this and asked his opinion, and he said that he thought it would be a good thing; if he went into Tammany with the idea of raising it 50%, and actually did raise it 20%, he would accomplish a great good, and that is the feeling among college undergraduates. Of course the difficulty is to raise it 20%. (Applause.)

We do undertake practical work when possible. It is not very often

possible. For instance, we sent down eighty watchers to the elections in New York for Jerome. The mere danger of the thing, I think, attracted a great many of them. They were not all members of our club, because our club numbers only forty-five. It is a rather small membership, but that is because we purposely limit it. We have a rather large waiting list to get in, but it would be impossible to conduct the informal talks and the "smoker" with a very much larger number of members. Of course there are always two ways to improve a class; one to educate every one a little bit and one to educate the leaders especially. Now the members of the Yale City Government Club do not hold themselves up as leaders, because they are not, but they are the men who are most in earnest about this matter. The general idea of a college man I believe is that he is rather frivolous and not in earnest, and that is certainly true to a large extent in the Freshman and Sophomore years, but when it comes along to the Junior and Senior years he becomes more serious, and our members are entirely from the Junior and Senior classes. We also do the best we can to give the benefit of our work to the college in general and to the people in New Haven. One of our main objects is to stir up interest in politics, and whenever possible we induce the speakers whom we have at our "smokers" to give a public address before they talk at the "smoker," and to this are invited all the university as a whole and the people of New Haven. I suppose a college audience is the most lectured audience you could possibly find, they are lectured on almost everything, and you have to have a man who is well known and has a great deal of force to draw a good audience. It is very hard to draw some of the academic people away from their books and from their athletics, and it is also very discouraging at times to find that you have a lecture on municipal ownership by Hon. Bird S. Coler scheduled for the same night as a lecture on "The Responsibilities of Citizenship" by the Secretary of War. It is very hard to get these prominent speakers; they are very busy, and we realize it. The end in view is not to be seen very clearly. The idea expressed in "I shot an arrow into air, it fell to earth, I knew not where," is not a very attractive diversion to a man busy in public service, but it is a noble and effective kind of missionary work, and I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to the National Municipal League to aid us in securing speakers and getting aid in this way.

Practical Work.

I have been asked to speak a few words concerning the Intercollegiate League of Civic Clubs which was formed last month in New York. It was, no doubt, the rallying of patriotic citizens throughout the land to the support of honesty and competency in public service and to the attack of such methods as are the antitheses of these that caused this movement of the colleges. The success of the City Government Club at Yale induced some of its members to think about establishing similar clubs at other colleges. Our motives were not altogether altruistic in this phase of the question, because we expected to gain help from the coöperation and experience of

the other clubs. Of course the same old problem of the apathy of the people was to be overcome, and we started out to overcome it by sending out letters as feelers to about ten of the larger universities in the country.

Intercollegiate League of Civic Clubs.

We had a "smoker" about that time and one of our speakers was Mr. Charles M. Jessup, of New York, who signified his willingness to aid us in this matter, and he approached a great number of men prominent in public service and in the world's work to get an expression of their opinion as to the practicability of this scheme. Many of them wrote letters advocating the plan, and from these we took excerpts, and with that material and other material we made up a pamphlet, which we sent around to about 250 universities, together with a circular letter, proposing to coöperate with the men in the different universities in forming clubs, and in forming confederations of those clubs and in having an annual meeting of the delegates. The replies came in very slowly, and we decided to send out another batch of letters, and with this idea in view induced Hon. Herbert Parsons to request the President to write a short letter advocating our plan. The President's reply to his request was an invitation to come to Washington. The delegates of the City Government Club and delegates of such clubs as had been formed in different colleges were invited. At this time we were in communication with about 25 universities. The number of course was small but the colleges represented were the best. They were the largest universities in the New England states and in the Middle Atlantic states, the Southern states and in the Middle Western states. This, of course, was an excellent chance to bring the delegates of these different clubs together, and we immediately transmitted this invitation of the President to the different clubs, also calling for a convention in New York at the City Club the night before we left for Washington. The result was that thirteen colleges sent delegates, the others expressing their approval of the movement, but their regrets that they could not send delegates on account of the distance. The colleges which were represented were Amherst, Brown, Cornell, Columbia, Chicago, Dartmouth, Harvard, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Williams and Yale. At this convention the Intercollegiate League of Civic Clubs was formed, a constitution—provisional constitution—was adopted, which provided mainly for an annual convention. The trip itself was, of course, of great benefit to every one, but the feeling was, after every person left, what we were going to do next. Now that we had all agreed that the Intercollegiate League of Civic Clubs was a good thing, what were we going to do about it? Were we merely to go back to our different colleges with that feeling of relief that a man has when he has figured up his debts but paid none of them? (Laughter.) Or were we to pursue the point which we had set before us actively? The outcome of all this will, of course, depend upon the generation which will next come into these different clubs. But the convention will no doubt be a great force, and if its possibilities are realized, success

will be assured. There is needed a tie that will bind the American universities as the English universities are bound. In a letter from the German Ambassador he described the movement for an organization among German universities not very dissimilar to the one we are proposing now.

The great point, I think, in the convention will be having men meet one another who will settle and live in the same city after graduation, and they will have a common bond of interest and a nucleus to start the work for good government. Possibly the organization may result in something similar to the College Men's Political Association of New York, and if this results there will be a continuous chain of work for good government, starting in the colleges and continued after graduation. At least we hope that one step has been taken toward making the college graduate a better and more useful citizen and toward realizing the *raison d'etre* of the university. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That closes our program for this afternoon.

The Conference then adjourned until 10.30 a. m., April 25th.

WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION.

The second session of the Conference was held at the Hotel Chalfonte at 10.55 a. m. Fifth Vice-President Albert Bushnell Hart in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting this morning is to be a kind of an experience meeting. We are to learn of the great things that have been done by the Municipal League, or in some cases of great things that remain to be done by the League, for the work of this organization is not yet completed. There are still spots in the country where we and our principles are needed, and I shall therefore call in succession upon a number of representatives of organizations affiliated with this body in the various cities to tell of the difficulties and of the triumphs—I hope we may have a fair share of the joys—in their city. Before entering upon this part of the program I will ask the Secretary to make some further announcements.

THE SECRETARY: I desire to say that Mr. Lawrence Veiller, the Secretary of the City Club of New York, is not to read a paper, but his very able assistant, Mr. Fred S. Hall, will present a paper which he, Mr. Hall, has prepared. Mr. Hall is very anxious that I should make it very clear that the paper is his and not Mr. Veiller's, because he does not want to commit Mr. Veiller to his position. Personally, I think we want to realize that it is Mr. Hall's paper because of its intrinsic merits. Mr. Hall is one of those essentially modest men who are making great headway in local matters, but are not always willing to take full credit for their work.

The Activity of League Members.

I want to take this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, of saying that we are having increasing difficulty in getting our members to attend, for the simple reason that their public duties are so pressing. That is rather a healthy and encouraging sign, that our men are so actively engaged locally that they are not entirely masters of their time. That

is particularly true of men like Mr. Guthrie, who has been elected mayor of Pittsburg, who is making every effort to be with us, but who may be at the last moment detained, not through any private engagement, but through the exigencies of public business. The same is true of Mayor Cutler, of Rochester, who up to yesterday had fully expected to be with us, and still entertains a hope, which I am sorry to say has almost vanished, because of a local situation calling for his attention. It is a very satisfactory thing, however, to know that so many men actively identified with the League are in such positions of prominence.

I have here a dozen envelopes containing the names and addresses of the dozen men who competed for the Baldwin prize. A year ago one of our members established a prize of $100 for the best essay on a municipal topic. Twelve admirable papers have been presented in competition for that prize. The Board of Judges, consisting of Judge McCune, of the Court of Common Pleas of Kansas City; Professor Brooks, of Swarthmore, and Dr. Pierson, of the University of Pennsylvania, examined these. They were unanimous, first, as to the meritoriousness of the papers, and second, as to the person entitled to the prize. None of us know who that person is, because the *nomme de plumes* have not been investigated, but I think it will be interesting to have a sub-committee of two appointed to open these envelopes and announce at a later session of the Conference the successful winner of the prize.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it to your mind that such a committee will be appointed? Those in favor will say aye. Those opposed, no. It is a vote. I learned this particular law in Louisville. (Laughter.) The Chair appoints Mr. Stoll, of Louisville, in compliment to the parliamentary law, and Mr. Hall, of New York, to open and announce later in the session.

The schoolmaster is the only person who has discovered the secret of perpetual youth, for he always sees before him persons of the same age they have always been, and in a gathering like this he very frequently detects some people who have sat before him, before. Not so many months ago I would have said at this moment, "Freiberg will recite." Being precluded by a change of circumstances, I will say that Mr. A. Julius Freiberg, of Cincinnati, will now speak to us as a member of the Citizens' Municipal Party of the very remarkable change that has come in the city in which he and his friends have been so active and so efficient. Mr. Freiberg. (Applause.)

Mr. Freiberg then read a paper on the Cincinnati situation, for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper that we have on the program was prepared and will be read by Mr. F. S. Hall, Secretary of the City Club of New York.

MR. HALL: Shall we work for men or measures? The old question presented again at the round-table conference has been faced by the workers in the city of New York and decided in favor of both. But we

have decided that it is advisable to work for those two things by means of separate organizations. I represent an organization that takes the side of measures—the City Club. The side of men is admirably represented by the Citizens' Union, and that phase of the work of the campaign of the season which has just ended was so well presented last night that I think I need make no apology for confining my paper to measures, which is the natural standpoint of one representing the City Club.

Mr. Hall then read a paper on the New York situation, for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be by Thomas Raeburn White, Esq., of Philadelphia, the counsel of the Committee of Seventy, and one of the most active leaders and advisers that we have had in the great movement in Philadelphia.

Mr. White then read a paper on the Philadelphia situation, for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: The following committee has been appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts: E. B. Sturges, Scranton, Pa.; Dr. E. M. Hartwell, Boston.

The committee on announcement of the prize will report at the afternoon session, and will be expected to give us the name of the prize-winner and also the next contestant as honorable mention.

Jonathan Edwards used to preach a sermon in which he announced the principle that in order to enjoy the delights of Heaven, it was necessary that the blessed should be able to look into Hell, and thereby appreciate the torments of those less favored. It is for this reason that I am going to call upon Mr. Percy N. Booth, of Louisville, to give us a little background to the civic triumphs of Philadelphia. Mr. Booth.

MR. PERCY N. BOOTH: I had not expected to say anything to-day. However, no Southern city has yet been heard from. I came to this meeting with a feeling of gloom. Other cities have come here, have sent their delegates here, with a note of jubilation on their lips, and nearly every report that we have heard has been an inspiring one. I must present you a rather humiliating picture from Louisville. There have been municipal organizations in Louisville, organized for non-partisan purposes for the past twenty years. The first one which I remember anything about was organized by Mr. Hartwell, who is a member of the Executive Committee of this body. Despite the educational influences of those organizations, the election which was held in the fall of 1905 in Louisville was, on the whole, the most disgraceful election that has ever occurred in the city. This also occurred in spite of the fact that we have the strongest and largest City Club organized on non-partisan lines which I think the city has ever had.

Louisville Conditions.

The situation in Philadelphia, as stated by Mr. White, impresses me very strongly. There are a great many things in that situation which are similar to the situation as it now exists in Louisville. The election in

Louisville on November 7th of last year was, in many respects, a riot under the leadership of the policemen of the city and the imported phonies, or repeaters as we call them, from other cities, principally from Cincinnati, Nashville and St. Louis. I am speaking now from the record, as we are now contesting in equity the election which was held on November 7th last. Some 15,000 pages of testimony have been taken, which has been printed in eight large volumes, and those are now before the two Equity Divisions of the Jefferson Circuit Court. The points of similarity which I noted are rather interesting. For instance, there were six precincts in the city of Louisville which were moved and in which fake elections were held where alphabetical voting occurred similar to the house-to-house voting which occurred in Philadelphia. For instance, throughout the whole list of say 350 names the first men that appear to have voted had last names beginning with A; the next, last names beginning with B; the next with C, and so on through the list. The final voters had names that began with X, Y and Z. They all appear to have voted between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. (Laughter.) In two instances voters appear to have voted during the morning from A to Z and during the afternoon from Z to A. Another rather peculiar circumstance!

Mr. White said that dogs, cats and women were registered in Philadelphia. I was rather impressed by his illustration. It reminded me of the common law classing women, children and lunatics in the same category.

Illegal Election Practices.

We had men all over the city who were registered from vacant lots. There were a great many of them, and a great many who were registered under the names of people who had long since been dead.

The difficulty in Louisville is, although we have a fairly good registration law, there is such a short time between registration and election that we have not the opportunity to cross off the phonies. That has to be done by proceedings in court. A bill was sent up to the Legislature during the last session which attempted to put the registration in May instead of in October, and it was shelved.

The bill which Mr. White spoke of introduces a remedy for the most crying evil in Louisville in regard to fair elections. As I understood Mr. White, that bill prohibits policemen from going to the polling places on election day except to make an arrest. In Louisville the election of 1905 was under the active control in every detail of the firemen and the police. In the precinct where I was, for instance, the old men from the little Sisters of the Poor, a home for aged and infirm, who had not been voted in the city of Louisville since the A. P. A. fight some years ago, were brought in the omnibuses of the Louisville Transfer Company, of which a member of the Board of Public Safety was manager, and were actually led into the polling-place by a policeman, where they were openly voted by the Democratic election officials. A Democratic officer asked them whether or not they wanted to vote the Democratic ticket, and every one of them openly

stated that he did, except one, and they were so voted openly, and their ballots were stamped by the clerk of election in clear violation of our secret ballot law. We were powerless to prevent it, because the policemen were very pugnacious, and in many other instances arrested citizens and took them to the county jail for "undue protest" against such outrages.

However, as I said, the matter has now been taken to the courts. The day following the election, the City Club which had fused with the Republican organization, decided to contest the election, and at the first meeting $20,000 was raised with little difficulty. It had taken several months to raise the same amount of money for the Republican campaign fund, the Fusion campaign fund. In one night $20,000 were subscribed, and I have no doubt we can get $50,000 if we need it. Mr. Stoll can tell you the details of that. He is the Chairman of the Finance Committee.

The Contested Mayoralty.

The record in this case has taken four months to prepare, and we see some light. Things are very dark in Louisville now, but with an appeal to the civil courts under our very fair election statute, which gives a court of equity on petition of any defeated candidate the right to set the election aside where there has not been "a fair election" in the words of the statute, we feel that we have some chance.

The discouraging feature—perhaps most discouraging of all about the situation in Louisville—is that the appeal to the Criminal Court has been absolutely valueless. In New York, for instance, as I understand it, after the last election, where there were a great many election outrages, the men were quickly arrested, tried and found guilty and sent to the penitentiary. After the 1903 election, which was also a very disgraceful one in Louisville, we went before nine successive grand juries with the best men in the city, who themselves witnessed the election frauds, such as seeing through the windows with their own eyes election officers stuff the ballot-boxes—went before nine successive grand juries and did not get a single indictment. After the election of 1905 we went before the Grand Jury and got between twenty and thirty indictments, but every one of them tried thus far has proved of no value. The petit juries had been manipulated instead of the Grand Jury, and we secured absolutely no convictions. Those indictments were, for instance, for offences such as this one: I remember taking the evidence of a little fellow named Jones, William Jones; he was about five feet six, very slightly built, had light hair and blue eyes and pink cheeks, and he was an election officer in the Twentieth Precinct of the Twelfth Ward. After the ballots had been put in the box he was counting the votes when a dispute arose over one of the ballots. He and one of the Democratic officers agreed to call in two lawyers, one on each side. They therefore notified the policeman to that effect on the outside. Returning to the booth they waited for the two lawyers to appear, and in about two or three minutes a policeman named Lapelle returned with a

Manipulated Juries.

gang of toughs and commenced to haul the ballot-boxes towards the door. They entered the room with drawn revolvers, all of the men. Jones went into the back room—he told all this in a lisping, diffident way, and it was very amusing—went into the back room and got a brace of old revolvers out of his father's bureau—he said his father kept them there for protection—came back and jumped into the ballot-box, held his brace of pistols at the policeman and the toughs and said that the first man who touched that ballot-box again he would kill. A very unusual thing happened, the policeman and the thugs turning tail and running. About ten minutes after that, however, a patrol-wagon drove up with a half a dozen policemen in it, who immediately forced their way in the door, gathered up the Republican sheriff and the ballot-box, loaded them on the patrol-wagon and took them down to the county jail. When the returns were made up, they were brought in, as I remember, 202 to 15, although the election officers had already counted 110 straight Republican ballots. The indictment against Policeman Lapelle has gone the same way as the rest of them.

With that situation staring us in the face we feel that our attitude must be, to a certain extent, a very pessimistic one, although there is hope. As I view it, with the men who are now behind the City Club and behind these contest proceedings, there must be some relief, because they are men who do not quit. And I expect that has been the reason for success in other cities.

MR. FREIBERG: Mr. Booth, may I ask what is the state of your papers in Louisville? Does the "Courier-Journal" help you any?

MR. BOOTH: No, I cannot say that it does.

MR. FREIBERG: The other papers?

MR. BOOTH: The "Herald" is a Republican paper, and has therefore been in sympathy with the decent nominees because they fused with the Republican ticket. The "Times" is a Democratic paper, which has opposed all efforts at fair elections. The "Courier" has taken the same attitude, and the "Evening Post" has been the only independent paper which has lent us any very vigorous aid. For instance, at their own expense they printed the registration lists. Now, our registration lists were padded with phonies from one end of the city to the other, and the publication of those registration lists has done more to clean up the registration than all other agencies put together. We would have hundreds of men come in and say, "I see that Thomas Smith lives next door to me. There isn't any such man." And we got thousands of responses in that way simply by the publication of those lists. I have been proving up repeaters during the last four or five weeks and those reports have been the basis very largely of our legal proceedings in that respect.

The Louisville Papers.

MR. DEMING: I want to ask Mr. Booth one question. What is the reason that the Grand Jury would not find indictments? Is the law under which the Grand Jury was made up a bad law?

MR. BOOTH: No, sir, it is not.

MR. DEMING: Then do your officials tamper with the Grand Jury list so that you get an infected list to pass upon election claims?

MR. BOOTH: That is it exactly.

MR. DEMING: Is there no way of reaching those officials?

MR. BOOTH: Our juries are all drawn in secret. How the list came to be made up with such unanimity as it was we do not understand.

MR. DEMING: But you know the names of persons employed, you know the names of the officials?

MR. BOOTH: We do. They are drawn by the judge of the court.

MR. DEMING: By the judge of the court?

MR. BOOTH: Yes.

MR. DEMING: By just one person you mean?

MR. BOOTH: Yes.

MR. DEMING: And for how long a time is he elected?

MR. BOOTH: Six years. Of course the lists may be drawn in a perfectly regular and fair way so far as we know.

MR. DEMING: I should suggest, with deference, that if there be a body of men of substantial means in Louisville who are ready to back up their statements, that you try the effect of advertising a few libels against the officials and drawing them.

MR. BOOTH: We have had some libel suits in Louisville.

MR. DEMING: Combined action to bring before the whole body of the people of Louisville the degradation and the infamous conduct of public officials of that sort, and keeping a standing advertisement before them; the comments they would receive from the public throughout the country, the fact that you are perfectly willing to go into court to try it out, I think perhaps might arouse some public spirit there that would not submit to the kind of frauds you have had in 1903 and 1905. It seems to me about time the men of Louisville got their guns and held a fair election.

MR. BOOTH: I would like to state one thing in that respect. One of the papers has attempted to expose the red-light methods of one of the political saloons. It did that by a series of articles by a detective who was hired to come there from Chicago. Instead of clearing the atmosphere, the editor of the newspaper himself was indicted for criminal libel by a Grand Jury of Jefferson County, tried by a Petit Jury of Jefferson County, convicted and fined.

MR. STURGES: Don't you have a list of jurors made out?

MR. BOOTH: Yes, drawn by three jury commissioners, and that list has, as Mr. Deming has expressed it, been an infected one.

MR. STURGES: Was that made annually?

MR. BOOTH: Every year.

MR. STURGES: Why not look after your jury commissioners?

MR. BOOTH: The jury commissioners have, as a rule I think, been capable and honest men, but they have left the details in the hands of the

officials. There has been too little time to get up the lists and get them up right.

MR. STURGES: Why do you call them capable men?

MR. BOOTH: I suppose that the law is defective. And possibly I use the word capable with regard to their private and not their public business.

MR. STURGES: They have the making up of the lists, do they not?

MR. BOOTH: Yes.

MR. STURGES: Then they are certainly remiss in their selection, are they not?

MR. BOOTH: I think they are, for the reason that the law requires that the lists be made up from men on the assessor's list, and many thousands of names have appeared in the past of men who were not on the assessor's list.

MR. STURGES: Will the Chair allow me a minute for personal experience? About eight years ago we had this same trouble. I come from a county that had a bad name, and deserved it some years ago, but does not deserve a bit of it now. We could not convict anybody of wrongdoing; we could convict almost anybody of doing right, if they did it. There was a great deal of trouble. The city was going to pieces, and the conventions at which candidates were nominated were the usual [illegible] country stand. The important offices that [illegible] some money were filled, of course, by hustlers and [illegible]. The [illegible] commissioners were always the last persons named in the convention. There was no salary except about two or three hundred dollars a year, so that usually half the convention had left before these nominations were made. They simply were the fall of the dog and were filled in any time.

Jury Reform in Scranton.

The Municipal League of Scranton, as one of its first movements, determined that perhaps the most important thing to be done first was the selection of proper [illegible], making up our annual list in good share. It went to a man generally trusted, of important business interests, and he offered himself on the altar of sacrifice, and just before one of these conventions announced that he would stand for jury commissioner. There were seven other candidates, but the people at once recognized what the reason of this man's offer was, and gave him a majority of about three or one over all other candidates. He was elected jury commissioner, and at great personal sacrifice served for three years. Since that time the record of the convictions in election cases has been up to that of any community in the United States, and I just want to say right here that during that last terrible strike of three years ago when, because most of the records came from Scranton as the metropolis of the coal region, Scranton got credit for a great deal of the disorder, there was not a single case where a man was guilty of any act, right in the midst of that great labor vote, where that man was not convicted if he deserved conviction.

The Importance of Jury Reform.

and it was our juries that did it. It immediately put new life and energy into every prosecution and every attempt to carry out our law. And if Mr. Booth will go home and let his organization take hold of that jury business, he will make one of the most important steps possible forward.

I want to mention just one further instance to illustrate it. We have had another strike going on for nearly a month. Mitchell says it is a play spell and not a strike, but it is a strike, and all around they are beating and shooting men, but in the limits of the county of Lackawanna it is as orderly to-day as it is in this room. We have got, for instance, the only independent anthracite colliery in the limits of the city working just as full and strong and producing just as much coal as it ever did, and its teamsters are going all over the city right among the other men without the slightest trouble. Why? Because they know that we have got a court and jury of men that will convict any man that breaks the law.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sturges failed to state that he was the jury commissioner in question. I think nothing can better illustrate the service of the National Municipal League than the discussion this afternoon. What one man has learned he communicates to another, and Mr. Booth has not only contributed a valuable word to political literature, "phonie," which will certainly make its way into the language, but he has also given us a very interesting picture, although a very dark picture.

There is a town in Massachusetts which at one time was celebrated for its unruly boys. A stranger coming there one day who had heard about these boys saw hardly any around and passed up to the hotel where he was going to stay without being molested. He said to the landlord, "How is it that this town has such a name for bad and unruly boys? I have not seen any on my way up?" The landlord said, "Oh, those boys is off stoning a funeral, and when they get back and find you here it will be all right." (Laughter.)

It appears that the reason for the success of the reformers in Cincinnati was that the repeaters were all down carrying the election in Louisville. While they were off stoning the funeral Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Freiberg came in.

There remains but one more address for the morning session, and before I call upon that gentleman I will ask the Secretary to make a statement in regard to San Francisco.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Fairfax H. Whelan was to have prepared a paper on the San Francisco situation. I might say I was particularly anxious to have his paper because Mr. Whelan, who, by the way, is a classmate of yours (referring to the Chairman) and of President Roosevelt, believes very thoroughly that you can get reform within the party, and has had a very interesting experience in San Francisco applying that principle. Truth compels me to say that thus far it has not been wonderfully successful, although they have gotten hold of the machinery of the Republican party there. The

San Francisco.

Republican party did not prevail at the election, so they have simply reformed what is to all intents and purposes the minority party. The Democratic party was reformed at the same time and is also a minority party. The Republicans and Democrats were not very successful, because the Labor party polled a majority of the votes at the general election. Mr. Whelan's telegram stating he was about to prepare a paper reached me on the very morning that the news of the disaster did. Of course we cannot expect to hear from him for some time to come. Mr. Andrew M. Davis, who was on his way to attend this meeting as a representative of the Merchants' Association of San Francisco and got as far as New York, but has written that he had to return at once to San Francisco. Mr. Davis is a member of the Board of Directors of the Merchants' Association and has been prominent in the good work that that Association has done.

THE CHAIRMAN: At the request of Mr. Stoll, he is excused from service on the Baldwin Prize Committee, and I have appointed Mr. Booth in his place.

The good boss looks after his boys, and I see in the faces before me another countenance which I have not unfrequently in past years seen over a desk, namely, that of Robert Treat Paine, Jr., and I have saved him as a sort of *bonne bouche* because he has something pleasant to tell us about the conditions in Boston, particularly relating to rapid transit.

MR. PAINE: I realize that in what I may say as to the franchise question in Boston, which during the last six weeks has been one of the uppermost things there, you do not care for the details but merely for the roughest outline. We thought we had threshed out pretty thoroughly the principles underlying the question of subways, but there had to be another act this year, and we found phraseology in it which largely subverted those principles. Cambridge, in one of the earlier statutes, had arranged with the Elevated Railway for an elevated structure, but became very much disgusted at the prospect, and after trying for a number of years to substitute a subway, secured a law last year providing for it, but the Elevated Railway would not accept it, so Cambridge applied again this year to the Legislature.

Transit Problems in Boston.

A few weeks ago there was a hearing before the Metropolitan Affairs Committee of the Legislature and it was announced that a plan had been arrived at by agreement between the Elevated Railroad corporation and the city of Cambridge as to the terms on which the Elevated would consent to have a subway instead of an elevated structure in Cambridge. The hearing, after a certain amount of discussion, was about to close, when it was developed that in this bill thus drawn up between these two interests many of the franchise rights of Boston were impaired, and the Public Franchise League demanded that the hearings be reopened and the League be allowed to appear in behalf of the public interests. The committee is a pretty good committee. The chairman is certainly a fair chairman, and the hearing was reopened.

The rental for the portion of the subway-to-be in Boston itself was to be reduced from the existing law of 4⅞ per cent to 4½ per cent, affecting materially the net result to Boston. The terms of the lease were to be changed. A limitation was put upon the length of the subway, which might be built to connect with our present subway at Court street, and in place of a portion of it a longer elevated structure was authorized, to be owned by the Elevated and held under permanent tenure, thus, in a certain sense, bottling up the city of Boston's subway. An alternative route was offered running to Park street, to be located not under direction of the Boston Rapid Transit Commission, but at the sweet will of the corporation itself, and without provision for the protection of Boston Common. In a blind provision rights and grants previously given the railway were, without reference to conditions on which they might have been conditioned, ratified and confirmed. A new right was granted for the extension of the Elevated Railroad in Boston from where it should join the Cambridge subway around to the North Station, and that also was to be held under permanent tenure.

When these facts were presented it made quite a stir, and it then developed that there had been no examination of this law by any public authority. The State had not looked into it. The city of Boston had not looked into it. That is an illustration of a defect in our legislative system. Is it not surprising that no representative of the people was under the bounden duty to scrutinize the law to safeguard their rights and interests? The committee then said practically to the Elevated and to the city of Cambridge, "You get together with the representatives of the Public Franchise League and see what you can decide on and let us know." Well, we took a rather uncompromisingly firm stand, and it was a good deal like the coon who came down when the man threatened to shoot. After several attempts at bluffing, they agreed to strike out the points we objected to.

An understanding of that surrender by the Railroad and of that attitude by the Legislative Committee is only clear in the light of the past. It was because the League has been for half a dozen or more years fighting on these very questions, and has proved that it can scrutinize these franchise grants in a fair-minded way to safeguard the rights of the people and to be just to the corporation, and by agitation and education has aroused the governors of the State and the mayors of the city to an appreciation of the problems, and has helped to disclose the fact that the people are intensely interested in these franchise questions when properly presented.

Public Franchise League.

In this long campaign the League, in a certain sense, has relied as its main support upon the referendum, or appeal to the people. And that has been of magical efficacy. There have been four referendums to the people of Boston on these transit questions. In each case it is now recognized that the people were right, though in two cases the acts of the Legislature were vetoed.

In 1899 the Elevated Railway tried to get back on Tremont street the surface tracks, which by one of the conditions of the 1894 Subway Act had been removed from our most busy street, to its vast improvement. The Elevated Railroad Company had won over both parties in the Legislature. It had secured the sympathy and support of both machines in Boston. It had the support and endorsement of the big and self-styled respectable papers of Boston, and yet in the election it was beaten by the people two to one. Then in 1901 came up the Washington Street Subway, and the corporation, having then changed its mind to favor a subway, insisted that the new subway should be built and owned forever by itself. There was a bitter fight. Finally the Legislature passed an act for it to be built by the city and leased for a long term of years to the railway. There was no referendum to the people. Governor Crane vetoed it, with the enthusiastic endorsement of the state. The following year, Governor Crane having insisted that there should be a referendum to the people, and a referendum being inserted, nearly every objectionable point was thereupon eliminated, as they knew they could not carry a bad law when it called for a reference to the people.

Out of Boston's long struggle two general principles stand forth: That a body of reformers who show that they can with fairness scrutinize and analyze and expound the principles and applications in these franchise grants, from the points of view of safeguarding the rights of the people, can be a dominant power; that even a small group is very efficacious. And second, that the people can be relied upon to defend their own rights and, if appealed to, prevent corporation franchise abuses. If you trust the people, if you appeal to them in a broad-minded, intelligent way, the people will prove they can be trusted. I am not sure but that is the lesson of most of these other cities. It seems to me that in Louisville, if they would raise a question by which the people would be aroused, the people would be disgusted with and stamp out those practices which now keep in office a machine which, while positively a disgusting machine in itself, yet in its operation on the people may not be of very serious consequence when no questions of vital moment to them are at stake.

It seems to me that the lesson we ought to have learned in Boston is that the people are the main reliance for the progress of the future, and that is the auspicious rainbow of hope for the ultimate success of the principles of this League. If you believe in the people and appeal to them, even a few of you, if really in earnest, then you are going to win in the long run and these principles of good government are going to be adopted by the people for the purpose of securing that good government which they do want and those measures which may prove to be of value to the civic betterment of the community. (Applause.)

The Chairman: There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee at 3.30 in Room 510. This meeting is adjourned.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The third session of the Conference was held at the Hotel Chalfont. It was called to order at 3 o'clock, with First Vice-President Richardson in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have all heard a great deal about New Jersey, and those of us who do not live in New Jersey (and have had our information largely from the newspapers and the magazines) will now have an opportunity of having information from a direct and reliable source. The first speaker is the Rev. Adolph Roeder, of Orange, New Jersey, the President of the New Jersey State Civic Federation, who will speak to you on the work of that body. I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Roeder. (Applause.)

MR. ROEDER: Mr. Chairman and Friends: In making the detailed report of the work done by the New Jersey State Civic Federation I beg first to introduce papers by Frank H. Jamison on "Election Reform" and by Thomas A. Davis on "The Recall," and also to make apologies for the absence of Mrs. Henry P. Bailey, who was to have spoken about the Woman's Club, but is unavoidably detained.*

The Woman's Club of the Oranges.

The home of the Woman's Club of the Oranges is to be more than simply a home. Without serious infringement upon the privacy and the home life of the Woman's Club as an organization, it will fittingly represent the achievements of civic workers in their realization of the home life of the community. For the whole is not only equal to the sum of all its parts, but it is also by nature similar to the nature of all the parts—hence a community, a municipality, or a group of municipalities, as in the case of the Oranges, has a distinctively home or household side in which and through which the women of that aggregate should, can, and do express their ability and competency as housekeepers. Housekeeping is not a man's forte, and consequently the household side of a municipality, the cleanliness of streets, the disposal of water, the regulation of public service, which, after all, is but an aggregate form of domestic service, is not as satisfactory without the help, coöperation and counsel of woman, as it is with those aids.

A Civic Dinner.

It gives me pleasure to note that among the various features which marked the use of the new Club House, not the least was a civic dinner, the immediate success of which was due to the indefatigable efforts of that tireless civic worker, Alden Freeman, but the original concept of which was the effort to secure and assure the coöperation of all the civic organizations of the Oranges, by fourteen of which the call to the dinner was signed. The dinner

*For further reference to the papers of Messrs. Jamison and Davis, see the Table of Contents.

marked two distinct epochs. First, the epoch in civic life contained in the sentence, "The right to condemn involves the privilege to commend." For it has been found in civic work that judicious commendations of the work done by public servants and officials deserve as large a place in communal life as the judicial criticism of inefficiency on the part of the same men, or men in the same line of work.

The various influences for civic betterment represented at this dinner stand prominently for the discreet exercise of the dual power, and hence the dinner was given as a testimonial to two retiring councilmen in recognition for the efficient services rendered by them. Secondly, the occasion stood for the harmonious coöperation of men and women in civic work, since the organizations signing the call are organizations of women as well as of men. And the event emphasizes in a marked way the modification of the old sentence, "Men and women, unequal and unlike," into the more rational idea, "Men and women, equal though unlike." The cooperation of men and women on the same plan of civic work is a most desirable feature of municipal life, and if the new building will occasionally lend itself to the purpose of such coöperation, it will have achieved a novel and, so far as I am aware, a unique success.

And now in reference to the work of the New Jersey State Civic Federation:

The New Jersey State Civic Federation.

From the nature of the work before these meetings I confine myself to such features in the work of the organization I have the honor to represent as refer more directly to the life and welfare of municipalities, omitting the larger features such as those which refer to the question of riparian rights, the potable water supply of the state and its state control, and other similar topics.

Permit me, however, to premise that the Federation consists of various civic bodies in different cities of the state and of many individual members who live in localities where there are as yet no civic bodies. Also, that one part of the work of the President of the Federation is to make reasonable efforts in the way of establishing such organizations. Four new organizations of this kind have by this means been added to the membership list of the Federation during the year, namely, Maplewood, Morristown, Vineland and Vailsburg, while in several other places beginnings have been made, as at Bernhardsville, Kearney, Arlington, Cranford, Somerville, Summit, and other places.

The report of the work of the present year naturally falls under three heads, under each of which I may be permitted to call attention to several features of interest. In the first place the Federation, through its local organizations, has taken up strictly local questions which have a general aspect, that is to say, propositions, which when introduced into one municipality are in shape to be used by other municipalities. Of this

The Year's Work

nature is the putting of questions to candidates for election, before election. This has been done in several municipalities for the past three years, and the results have warranted all anticipations. In many instances councilmen and members of various municipal boards have been strengthened to resist doubt and temptation, by either themselves recalling these ante-election pledges or by having them more or less vigorously recalled to them by their constituents. It is to be hoped that this form of interest in the welfare of communities may be enlarged and become more common of application. The question of avoiding borrowing money in anticipation of taxes has developed the fact that this practice, common in all municipalities of New Jersey with the exception of its two largest cities, can be readily amended; and the Federation has followed up this proposition, with the result that a definite and perfectly feasible plan is now in preparation which will probably be in shape about the time various fiscal years open in the fall. The plan will be called a plan for "funding tax-arrearages."

Electric Lighting.

The question of the establishment of local light plants to be owned and operated by municipalities grew naturally out of a matter of financial geometry. The large corporation which controls the electric light output of the upper section of the state to a large and predominant extent, has burdened itself with so great a mass of obligation, real and imaginary, that it has to charge a steep price (as high as 13 cents per kilo-watt hour in some localities). It was found that the light could be produced and sold for about half that, if the producing plant was not so loaded with ill-advised financial geometry. This realization brought about a flood of bills to the Legislature calling for the enabling of municipalities to erect, maintain and run light plants. Although this grist of bills was confused and large, and although the methods of legislation are not favorable to the avoidance of such confusion, yet the net product of agitation and legislative enactment has been that a sufficient number of these bills have become laws, whereby municipalities will be allowed to escape from this undue pressure brought about by the unwisdom and readiness to carry undue loads on the part of those directly in the business of producing electric light. I anticipate that at least six, possibly seven, large municipalities will within two years be able to escape the burden so imposed by the establishment of municipal electric light plants, to be run either by the municipalities or, on the continental plan, established by the municipalities and leased to private corporations for operating purposes.

To this first group of subjects submitted for your kindly consideration I beg to add a second group, which is divided into two sections: a first section of things attained, and a second of things to be further agitated and worked for. The things attained and the things still to be worked for both fall under the head of measures of a general nature with specific applications to municipalities.

The most prominent of these is the campaign for "Limited Franchises."

In this the Federation has done its share of work and it has attained. So familiar is the fight to every one here, in all probability, that it requires no further elucidation. Of the same nature and coming under the same head is the associate idea "Equal Taxation," which would more properly come under the title of Railroad Taxation, because that is virtually the section of the original proposition which took pronounced shape in the campaign and which produced the results thus far obtained. This, too, is too familiar a topic to require further comment. Suffice it to say, that in both propositions it is the municipality which is the ultimately benefited factor. The third item in this group is the "Morris Canal." This has a municipal bearing in this feature, namely, that a most valuable asset of this canal is a basin in Jersey City and a right of way through Newark, both of enormous value. This the agitation of the Federation has thrown into the courts, and Messrs. Joseph H. Choate, former Justice Van Syckel and Chandler W. Riker have been asked to assist the Attorney-General of the state to bring the suit ordered under resolution of the Legislature, to "determine the rights of the state in the basin at Jersey City which forms the terminal of the Morris Canal." The outcome of this litigation will largely determine several other important questions as to water supply, the rights and privileges of railroads and so forth which will prove of intense interest.

Limited Franchises.

Beside this group of things attained, let me ask you to take cognizance of the other group of those for which we are working for next year. One is the recall, which Mr. Thomas A. Davis, of Orange, will present to you in detail to-day. The other is a radical change in the method and system of election, which has been carefully worked out, and which will be presented by Mr. Frank H. Jamison to-day. The latter involves the method of voting a man into office; the former a method of voting him out of office if he fails to prove competent or in any way falls short of the requirements made of him by his constituents. That these two refer directly to municipal questions is evident. It is equally evident that the initiation of civil service reform is of the same nature. In this we have advanced thus far: there has been formed an association to represent more distinctively this particular reform; a bill has been submitted to the Legislature and has received fair consideration; and we have been promised the creation of a commission to look into it in detail and report next year.

Electoral Reforms.

The New Jersey State Civic Federation is now in the fourth year of its existence. I feel confident that the results obtained thus far warrant us in feeling that it has done fair work for an organization so young and bespeak the interest of all those in the state who are laboring for civic righteousness in its efforts.

Mr. Booth: On behalf of the committee appointed yesterday to open the envelopes accompanying the essays submitted for the Baldwin prize, I beg to report:

There have been responses from six colleges—the University of Illinois, New York University, Michigan University, Pennsylvania, Harvard, and the University of Missouri. From these the largest number of papers was sent from New York University, namely, five. Three were sent from the University of Pennsylvania; a total of twelve papers in all were received.

Baldwin Prize Essay.

I am asked to emphasize the fact that the judges, numbering three, and consisting of Henry L. McCune, judge of the Circuit Court of Kansas City, Missouri; Robert C. Brooks, professor in Swarthmore College, and Ward W. Pierson, instructor at the University of Pennsylvania, arrived at their conclusions independently and have all picked out the same paper as being the best. That paper was written by a Sophomore in the University of Illinois, who lives at Urbana, Illinois. His name is Arno Woods. He wrote under the *nomme de plume* of "Lord Washington."

I am asked, also, to state that another paper should be mentioned honorably, which was written by Robert B. Brody, who is a student at New York University. All of these papers, according to the judges, seem to have been valuable. I will read one or two comments from their letters. For instance, Judge McCune says: "Most of these papers are very valuable and should be printed by the League." Professor Brooks, of Swarthmore, says: "Four or five of the essays are really very creditable. Permit me to add that I consider myself much the gainer in information by having read the manuscripts submitted." Dr. Pierson, of the University of Pennsylvania, says: "All of the participants are to be commended for the great expenditure of time and labor which has been required in the preparation of the papers."

MR. KIDDER: What is the title of the paper?

MR. BOOTH: The title of the paper which won?

MR. KIDDER: Yes.

MR. BOOTH: All of the papers, I understand, were written on the same subject: "The Relation of the Municipality to the Gas and Electric Light Service." I think probably this is an opportune time to state that probably Judge McCune's suggestion is a valuable one and that at any rate some of the papers should be printed by the National Municipal League.

THE SECRETARY: I might add, Mr. Chairman, that several women students competed for the prize and, judging from the report of the judges, made very creditable representation. The successful participant will receive the prize of $100 which has been offered by one of our members, who has promised to renew it for the next year.

Professor Rowe, who is the chairman of the Committee on Coördination of Instruction in Municipal Government, suggests that the title for next year be the same topic as that the instructors will work along next year, namely, the water supply of cities. This year the subject was designated by the Committee on Coördination just referred to. That committee

is composed of college professors and instructors who are actually giving instruction in the various college and universities of the country, so that this prize works right in with the systematic work that is being done.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from Mr. Farnham Yardley, of Orange, New Jersey, on "Municipal Farming."

MR. YARDLEY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been asked to say something this afternoon in regard to an experiment that has been tried for the last two years in the city of East Orange. As a matter of record I would like to state that I have the honor of being a councilman of the city of East Orange and not Orange, New Jersey, as is stated in the program.

Municipal Farming.

We have four municipalities, the cities of East Orange, Orange, the township of South Orange and the township of West Orange. They are all separate and distinct. East Orange is a city of some 26,000 inhabitants. That is in the county of Essex and is about eleven miles from New York. The place is almost entirely a residential community. That is, the men are men who are engaged during the day in the neighboring cities, in the cities of Newark and New York, and as a result we have a very high class, but we have a mass of apathy in regard to municipal affairs that is very hard to move, and I should be glad if this League could at some time suggest some feasible and practical manner of creating an interest in civic affairs. In our city very few of the men subscribe to the local paper, and the New York papers have little or nothing in regard to municipal affairs, and the result is that the men do not care or do not know what is going on in our city. They seem to be reasonably content if the streets are kept clean and their taxes are not too high; if they have the conveniences of an ordinary city and their children are allowed to go to school. Beyond that they do not seem to take very much interest in civic affairs.

Some three years ago East Orange undertook to create a municipal water plant, and took as a source of supply a large tract of land, some 650 acres, that is located in the Passaic Valley beyond what we call the Second Mountain. If you are familiar with that portion of New Jersey you can locate the land when I say it is two miles to the north and west of Short Hills and Millburn, and about the same distance from Chatham. In this tract of land were sunk some forty wells. The wells were from 85 to about 250 feet deep, and after going through a very thick bed of blue clay, which precludes any possibility of contamination, they reached a supply of water that is absolutely perfect—as near perfect as any under-surface water can be. This has been verified by analytical examinations, both bacterial and chemical, by Stevens Institute and the State Board, and we have a supply that is unsurpassed in the state. These wells are all connected by underground communication, underground pipes, and they flow into a large suction well.

The Water Plant.

There the large pumps (we have two pumps, each with a capacity of four million gallons a day) take the water and force it up to the top of the Second Mountain, a distance of about a mile from this pumping station, and then the water runs all the way down to East Orange by gravity. But if the water was allowed to come into East Orange the pressure would be so great that the plumbing in the city would not withstand the force, so we run the water into what is called an equalizing reservoir, which is 175 feet above the main tide level, and the water runs into this reservoir and then runs out, giving the water in East Orange the pressure of this elevation, which allows an average pressure of some 73 pounds to the square inch in our city. In some places it is as high as 95 pounds to the square inch, which you see is ample for all fire purposes, and as a result we do not require in our town any fire engines. All fires are put out by the use of hose from the water pressure.

The Municipal Farm.

The land at White Oak Ridge (that is the local name of the place), of course, was not used for any purposes except for the purpose of getting the under surface water. The land was farming land and wooded land. On this land were a number of houses, which we fitted up and they are now occupied by the various employes of the pumping station and the water plant. One of the first things we did when we acquired this land was to put a caretaker on the property and to put up signs saying that it was the property of the city of East Orange and to prevent people getting in there and cutting wood or doing any damage to the property, and one of the first things that we asked for was a horse, so that we might clean up the land and make certain improvements and take things back and forth from the railroad station, things that were required at the pumping station. I am simply telling you in detail, so that you may see that this whole thing was the evolution of an idea, although it is a phase of municipal ownership. I am not in favor of municipal ownership in general, but the ideas that I give are perhaps ideas that can be used in other places under similar conditions. Well, when this caretaker made the request for a horse we had just been talking about the proper means of disposing of two horses that had been in the service of the fire department for some twelve or fourteen years, horses that had grown too heavy and grown too slow, and we did not want to sell them because we thought they might fall into the hands of some people who would not care for them properly, and so somebody suggested they be sent to the farm. So they were sent to the farm, and as we had a lot of land up there we thought, "Well, now, we can grow hay on this farm for the feeding of the horses;" and then somebody said, "Well, if you can feed the two horses up there, why cannot you feed all the horses that are used in the Fire Department in the city, all the horses used in the Road Department in the city and all the horses that are used in the various other departments?" So we planted a great num-

The Evolution of the Idea.

ber of acres in hay. Well, then, we did not know whether we should bring the hay down to East Orange in a hay-wagon or bale it up there. So we thought the business-like way would be to get a baling machine, and we got a baling machine and baled the hay, and every week the hay is brought down to the city in nice, neat and orderly form and the manure is gathered up from the various fire houses and taken back to this farm and put on the ground.

Then the thought occurred to us that we had a lot of land up there that was not available for water purposes and we could start a nursery, so that the Shade Tree Commission that we have in our place could be supplied with young trees to plant on the various avenues and the thoroughfares of our town.

The Tree Nursery.

And that led up to the question of why not turn over to the State Forestry Board the woodland so that they could cut down such trees as were not desirable and could plant new trees, and could have the place as a park and a place of illustration, and in that way permit the use of the land for the furthering of the State Forestry idea. But we found that under the existing laws we could not enter into a contract of that sort with the State Forestry Board. So at the present session of the Legislature a bill was entered in the Legislature, which was drawn up by the State Forestry Board, that permitted us to enter into these negotiations, and the bill has now been signed, and that portion of the land that is wooded is to be formally put into the hands of the State Forestry Board. So we are furthering that idea.

Then on the land we had a pond. This pond was not used for the purpose of the water plant, and it was more or less of a natural pond, so we sent to Washington and we got a supply of trout and a supply of bass, and when these fish grow we shall have a chance to allow the citizens of our place to enjoy some good fishing. (Laughter.)

Then we permitted each one of the seven or eight employees to grow a truck garden, and they can keep their own cows and can keep their own chickens and own horses. And then we sort of stimulated or encouraged them in laying out their little tracts of land, and we have furnished them in years past with seeds, and this year we intend to offer a prize to the fireman or engineer who has the neatest and the nicest and the most orderly-looking door-yard and front lawn and whose wife keeps the place, in the way of flowers, looking the best. In that way we want to cultivate the park-like effect, which will be the means of impressing people as they drive through the grounds.

Truck Gardens.

I would say that during the year 1905 we planted 125 acres in grass. That was for the hay. And we planted 35 acres in rye. That was for the straw. Of course it was necessary to have bedding for the horses, and we had our own straw, and baled the straw just the same as we did the hay. Then we planted 15 acres in oats, and they tell me that oats are a

kind of an uncertain crop, and 15 acres won't be enough to supply the demand, and we are going to plant a great many more acres this summer. Then we planted 10 acres in corn for feed and an acre and a half in carrots for the horses.

Now on the 2d day of June we are going to have what we know as "East Orange Day." Water bills go out on the first of May to some five thousand householders. We have five thousand people in East Orange that take our water, and we are going to invite them and their families and all their friends to go to the water plant on the 2d of June and watch the flag-raising on the flag-pole for the first time and watch the unveiling of a tablet, and we trust that the day will be a municipal day in which the glories and grandeur of East Orange can be lauded, and I shall be very glad if you will all be present. (Applause.)

East Orange Day.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is a very wonderful story of the gradual evolution of municipal ownership. It makes me think a little of the old story of the man who got a new door-mat, and then he had to get a new stair carpet, and so on until he had to furnish his house completely new, and then get a new house.

We will now hear from Mr. Frederick W. Kelsey. I don't know which Orange he is from. In the paper it says "Orange, New Jersey."

MR. KELSEY: Just plain Orange. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: There are a number of Oranges and some lemons in our portion of Essex County, and it may be apropos to state that the Orange from which your present speaker comes is the city of Orange. The adjoining Orange which has taken this interesting experiment in farming which Mr. Yardley has so well outlined is an adjacent city. But while we have several municipalities there which we all treat as the Oranges, we are really all one. Socially and in economic questions, at least, we are one community, and although we have about 60,000 population there, which as the preceding speaker has mentioned is largely of a residential character, the community after all embraced in the four Oranges is almost a suburb of Newark, or rather a suburb of New York.

The Oranges.

Mr. Chairman, as one of the members of this League who pays his dues and does not—or has not heretofore—taken an active interest in the direct work of the League, I have felt some embarrassment in this matter of speaking this afternoon, and when I was urged to do so there was another embarrassment, because the subject upon which I wish to speak is not strictly a municipal subject. Another embarrassment arises from the fact that those of us who are engaged in active affairs and not in professional matters find it extremely difficult to speak extemporaneously on a question of this kind, upon any important question; and yet, to my mind, it is very objectionable to read a paper. I much prefer the other style of presentment, and yet I shall have to ask your indulgence if I read, because the

subject which I present I deem of the very greatest importance, and I want to be as brief and as concise as possible.

Mr. Kelsey then read an interesting paper on the general corporation laws of New Jersey. It was an important and striking contribution to that particular subject, but as it did not deal with their relations to municipalities, nor in fact any phase of the municipal problem, the Editor has had to omit it from this volume, which must, under the necessities of the case be devoted to papers bearing on municipal topics.

Corporation Reform.

Mr. Alden Freeman, of Orange, was then called to the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have been asked to explain to you that the Chairman and Secretary have been called to a meeting of the Executive Committee, and the former has asked me to take his place during the rest of this meeting. We will now have a paper by Mr. E. K. Sumerwell. I might explain at this point that you have just had the pleasure of listening to a man who was most active in carrying through the limited franchise in the state of New Jersey, and if Mr. Kelsey pursues with the same energy the correction of our corporation laws that he showed in that matter and in the work that he has done in the Morris Canal matter, I think it will no longer be the shame of New Jersey that she is the birthplace of get-rich concerns and the home of the men who can get something for nothing.

I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Edward K. Sumerwell, who is another one of the Orange contingent, a reformer who led the Citizens' Union campaign in 1902 in East Orange. (Applause.)

MR. E. K. SUMERWELL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel that the Jerseymen are having their innings to-day if they ever did. We certainly feel honored by having set aside for us one session of so distinguished a body as the National Municipal League, during which we may tell something of the work we have been endeavoring to do in the state of New Jersey along the line of civic reform, and accordingly my remarks are addressed to civic reform, with special attention to what I may term "The Need of Sanity in Civic Reform."

For further reference to Mr. Sumerwell's paper see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is now in order to discuss the papers that you have heard, and I hope that many of those present will have something to say on these subjects. You may think—those from without the state—that we are doing considerable muck-raking in New Jersey, but as Mr. Nathan said to us the other night, if there were no muck there would be no need of the rake, and Mr. Lincoln Steffens, who has been a great aid to us in the work here, told me not long ago that he felt that his article on "New Jersey a Traitor State" had had the effect he desired. He felt he must sting our apathy to awaken us, and since those articles

Muck-Raking in New Jersey.

appeared reform movements have been commenced in both of the principal parts of New Jersey, and I think before long you will see that Jerseymen will prove that Jersey is no traitor state.

Now we shall be very glad to hear from any of the members present. If no one has any comment to make on the papers that have been read, a motion to adjourn until this evening is in order.

On motion, the Conference adjourned until 8.30 p. m.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION.

The fourth session of the Conference was held at the Hotel Chalfonte at 8.30 p. m., with First Vice-President Richardson in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: We have with us to-night a very distinguished mayor of one of the Pennsylvania cities, one who has accepted the position at great sacrifice to himself and one who has done splendid work; but before introducing him to the audience the Secretary wishes to make an announcement.

THE SECRETARY: The dinner on Friday evening will be in conjunction with a dinner which the New Jersey bankers will give at the Hotel Chelsea. There was a time when it looked as though the two dinners would conflict with each other, so the Committee of Arrangements, of which Mr. H. W. Leeds is chairman, happily suggested that it would be very interesting to combine forces. The dinner on Friday evening will be addressed by Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte, our own President, and Secretary of War Taft, to whom so many references have been made through the sessions and whose attitude on civil service reform is so well known; by Governor Stokes of New Jersey and by United States Senator Dryden, so the combination will be a very interesting one.

I should like to supplement one statement that our Chairman made in regard to Mayor Dimmick who is about to address us, and that is that he is one of the National Municipal League members now holding office. I am glad to report an increased number of members in office. This does not mean, however, that every one who joins our forces is guaranteed an office, but the day has passed when the officeholder was a *rara avis*. I am also glad to say that, thanks to the work they have done in their respective localities, many of the active men of the League have been given an opportunity to put their ideas concerning men and affairs into force and effect.

Members in Office.

Mayor Guthrie has written me in the last day or two expressing his hope to be with us, but he has a critical condition of affairs to face in Pittsburg and he is not permitted by the local circumstances to promise definitely very far in advance, but there is no loss of interest whatever on his part. In fact, I think he is more of a Municipal Leaguer than ever before, and the hope has been expressed on the part of some Pittsburg people that the next League meeting should be held in their city, so that

we shall have an opportunity of seeing just how a Municipal League mayor does it.

I am also to say that another Municipal League mayor, Mr. Jones of Minneapolis, also wishes us to see that he is living up to League standards. And there has been an intimation from Mr. Sturges that he wants us to go to Scranton and see how it is done there.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we may say that when a member of the League has obtained an office it has been a case of the office seeking the man and not the man the office. I take pleasure in introducing a conspicuous illustration of that truth, Mayor Dimmick of Scranton.

For further reference to Mayor Dimmick's address see the Table of Contents.

THE SECRETARY: I have Mr. Cutler's paper here on "The Municipal Control of Public Service Corporations," a very interesting contribution to the subject, but as it is a little more germane to the subject under discussion on Friday, I suggest that its reading be postponed until that time. Mayor Cutler sent a letter of regret at his inability to be with us.* He had expected to up to the last moment, but something he had not forseen prevented him, so he sent this copy of his paper. I might say also that Mr. Cutler is a member of the League.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have now the pleasure of introducing a gentleman with whom I am sure you will be delighted. Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York, has long been a leader in reform matters. Many years before there was the interest shown in municipal reform that has been evinced of late years, Mr. Deming was active in such work. I now have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Deming of New York.

Mr. Deming then read a paper on "Corrupt Practices and Electoral Methods," for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have been requested to announce that there will be a meeting of the Executive Committee at half-past 9 to-morrow morning in Mr. Bell's office, across the hall. The meeting for this evening is adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION.

The fifth session of the Conference was held at the Hotel Chalfonte at 10 a. m. on Thursday, with First Vice-President Richardson in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first paper on our program this morning is one on "Juvenile Civic Activity." We are a little disappointed that Mr. Langdon is not here, but as the Secretary of the Red Cross Association in New York, he is of course exceedingly busy with the San Francisco troubles, raising the money and getting assistance there, so that he has not only been prevented from being here, but has been prevented from preparing his paper.

*For further reference to Mayor Cutler's address see the Table of Contents.—EDITOR.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Langdon specially asks leave to prepare his paper after the San Francisco situation is relieved and have it published. So I move that he be given that privilege, because Mr. Langdon has given a great deal of thought to the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection it will be considered as allowed.

The first question we will take up this morning is in regard to the police question. I don't suppose any of us are likely to come in contact with the police, but we need competent police to protect us from others, and we shall be very glad to hear from Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, of Boston, on the general subject of the police. I take pleasure in introducing Dr. Hartwell.

For further reference to Dr. Hartwell's paper see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next paper this morning is on "The Acceptance of Municipal Accounting Reform," to be read by the Hon. L. G. Powers, of the Census Bureau of Washington. I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. Powers.

MR. POWERS: In one respect I should begin a little differently from Dr. Hartwell. In regard to the situation, his general description brings to my mind what is said to be the Scotch answer to the question, "How do you do?" which is always, "I am no worse." In the matter of the police that seems to be the summing up of Dr. Hartwell. In the matter of municipal accounting, which has been an active subject of discussion in these conferences, the answer is one that is quite different. It is decidedly that which the average person likes to give, "Very well, I thank you."

Uniform Accounting.

Mr. Powers then read a paper on "The Acceptance of Municipal Accounting Reform," for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have one more paper on the subject of accounting. You notice that Mr. Powers in his very interesting paper referred to the states which had adopted the system of uniform accounts, and especially to the state of Ohio. We will now have a paper on "Ohio's Experience with Uniform Accounting and Reporting." I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. A. B. Peckinpaugh, of the Department of the Auditor of State, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Peckinpaugh then read a paper on "Ohio's Experience with Uniform Accounting and Reporting," for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Deming has a short announcement to make, and after that we are going to have a very remarkable paper. I say remarkable for several reasons, one of which is that it is all contained in two short, typewritten pages. But it relates to a very live, very important subject, and I shall be glad if it leads to an active debate. Mr. Deming.

MR. DEMING: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Municipal Nomination

Reform of our League has been gathering, as you know, for a number of years the results of special studies of primary legislation and its operation, that is, of primary elections in several of our states. Wisconsin a year ago adopted a new primary law, and at the request of the committee that law has been analyzed and its actual workings in the recent city elections reported upon by Mr. Clarence P. Lester, a post-graduate student at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, who has done his work under the supervision of one of the active members of our League, Professor Sparling. I present this paper as a part of the report of the proceedings of the League on this subject.*

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the Secretary to read the next paper.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, before doing that I am going to take the liberty of reading a letter just received from an Atlanta member of the League, which contains a paragraph of so much interest and encouragement that I feel like sharing it with those who are present and with others:

"I have for a number of years been greatly attached to and had an ever-increasing appreciation of the National Municipal League. I have served as Recorder of the city of Atlanta and as member of the City Council, and as such was Chairman of the Legislative Committee, and afterwards Chairman of the Finance Committee, and I feel that it is not immodest on my part, and but justice to the League, to say that through information and suggestions derived by me from the publications of the League, Atlanta is richer by many thousands of dollars, and none can now estimate the immensity of the benefits which, in the years to come, the League will likewise bestow.

With best wishes, I beg to remain,

ERNEST C. KONTZ, Atlanta, Ga."

Mr. Richardson reminds me to say that the members of the Executive Committee will have a meeting immediately on the adjournment of this meeting in Mr. Bell's office.

The Initiative and the Referendum.

The abstract I am about to read was prepared by Mr. Louis F. Post, the very able and efficient editor of "The Public" of Chicago. The paper itself, which is to be published in the proceedings,† would take at least an hour to read. It goes into the whole question of the initiative and referendum with great minutiæ, and I am sure you will all want to read it and study it with care. Mr. Post is a public-spirited man, a lawyer by training, but an editor by profession, and thoroughly devoted to the principles of reform in our municipalities. What he has to say comes not only from a deep interest, but an extended experience.

* For further reference to Mr. Lester's paper see the Table of Contents.

† For further reference to the paper see the Table of Contents.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have one gentleman with us who I think has probably a large amount of inherited and acquired knowledge in regard to the old town meeting, and I have no doubt, ideas in regard to the initiative and referendum. We will be very glad, I am sure, to hear from Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., of Boston.

MR. PAINE: Having been called upon yesterday by surprise, I think it is hardly fair to call upon me to-day in the same way. The initiative and the referendum always strike one as if they were entirely new. These words of Latin derivation do not suggest their old Yankee source. But in Massachusetts they are native to the soil. They started in 1620 in Plymouth Colony. Landing at Plymouth, the people who came over in the Mayflower gave from 1620 to 1657 a pretty close illustration of what we would get through the initiative and referendum, that is, through direct legislation, where the people themselves legislate. In the beginning, the Colony of course was small, and all the freemen met in the Assembly four times a year and passed the laws of the Colony. Later, when the Colony grew, it was provided that the different towns might send delegates, and yet once a year in the June meeting, in what was known as the General Court—a name now assumed by our State Legislature—all the freemen were to meet and pass upon the laws enacted in the interim by their delegates, or themselves decree new laws. Thus in a true sense they were applying the initiative and the referendum, and there was a general meeting of the freemen of the different towns as late as 1657, so that for thirty-seven years we had exemplified in the old Yankee Plymouth Colony these very principles which to-day, by those of us who are rigidly conservative and without the historic perspective, are characterized as a socialistic or communistic invention.

In Massachusetts, in Boston, the proposition for the initiative is regarded as about as wild a thing as a reformer can suggest. The referendum, however, we have actually resorted to so often to our great advantage that people cannot, even in theory, say it is a bad thing, though the conservatives oppose it in every instance where it is suggested, and only as a last resort admit it in any special case where they feel that the proposition coming from the legislature, or from the representatives of a corporation, is so bad that the appeal to the people is on the whole the safer alternative. If the Municipal League were to take up this question, and study it as they have studied other questions which they have taken up, and would show how reasonable it is, I think the League would make great headway in educating the people to adopt the principles which are embodied in these two ideas.

Old Ideas, New Names.

The initiative is the more radical move, because it is direct legislation on the part of the people. To-day the people choose representatives, and the representatives pass upon laws. Sometimes those laws are referred back by the referendum for adoption or veto. By that time the principle

is threshed out pretty well, the details settled, the conservatives and the radicals having offered their criticism, and as a result we ought to get out of that legislative procedure a fairly satisfactory measure. Information has been published in the press, and the people therefore ought to be able to pass wise judgment in the referendum. The initiative is the reverse of this policy. A certain number petition for a reference to the people of the law which they themselves propose. At the next election it is put upon the ballot, and the people may, by overwhelming vote under the spur perhaps of a certain popular movement, pass that bill into law. So that there is a certain ground for doubt, or hesitation, or criticism of the actual working of initiative. The experience of Oregon should be illuminating on this point. The initiative, however, may be needed, as many think, in order to obtain reform measures which the Legislatures now largely refuse, owing to our failure to adopt such remedies as may render our representatives more responsible to the people who elect them.

A practical measure has been proposed in Illinois, where the people are enabled to pass upon a policy and express their wish or will. For instance, since 1901, when the law was passed, there have been a number of cases where the people have had referred to them, on the little ballot, questions of policy. In 1902 the question was whether the people desired the popular election of Senators or not. The vote was something like 450,000 to 75,000—a tremendous, overwhelming vote. The consequence was that whereas they had been asking the Legislature of Illinois to join in the movement with the other states calling for an amendment of the United States Constitution to provide for the popular election of Senators, and the Legislature had persistently refused, immediately after the popular vote the Legislature passed a resolution saying that in answer to the expressed will of the people they joined in the request for a constitutional amendment. That shows how the representatives, elected by the people, may be induced to act in accordance with the expressed will of the people. Many other cases could be cited to show the same effect. Yet the first vote or expression of opinion is not mandatory, but advisory in its nature; it may be a wiser step to take at first than to go the whole length of having an effective initiative with mandatory force.

The Illinois Experience.

The law we proposed in Massachusetts was that upon application of 10 per cent of the voters two questions relating either to the state or to the city might be put on the ballot for the expression of their opinion. The question was threshed out in a very interesting debate in the House of Representatives, and passed 98 to 2. The committee, representing both parties, had unanimously recommended it, but when it reached the Senate, the Senate killed it, as it had done the year before. They killed it without debate, only the chairman of the committee speaking in favor of it, and no one advancing any reason against it. The representatives of the larger interests and those who are susceptible to the influence of the lobby opposed

it. Last year a similar bill was defeated and a roll-call refused so that it could not be known who had voted against it. This year a roll-call was secured, and it will probably come up in the campaign next autumn as one of the important issues. It seems unanswerable that if we are to have a really representative system it is necessary that the representatives of the people should be informed as to how the people want to be represented. It seems incomprehensible that a representative should refuse to allow those whom he represents so to express their wish that the representative might act in accordance with it. Such a position appears untenable and illogical, but questions which may affect large corporations are not settled by reason or logic.

The Massachusetts Proposition.

The referendum is not compulsory on each law that is passed, but is optional with the voters. In some of the states—in Oregon and in South Dakota—no ordinary law goes into effect for ninety days, and during this period there is a possibility for a petition to be signed by a given number of voters, and if such petition is filed with the Secretary of State that law does not go into effect until it has been ratified by the people. That is an optional referendum. The Governor of South Dakota has said that immediately on the adoption in the constitution of the initiative and referendum the change in the character of the legislation was noticeable. The absence of the lobby was remarkable. The mere existence of the referendum provision had operated as a bar against the passage of acts such as had been passed in the past and which if passed in the future would encounter such a petition for a referendum. The Governor of Oregon has testified in the same way that it has had the effect of removing from the Legislature the corruption and the lobbying of the past.

THE SECRETARY: There is one phase I should like to present for consideration, that known as the compulsory initiative, in which the proper authorities are required to submit a bill for its adoption to the vote of the people. Out in Oregon they have this compulsory initiative, and there was a great popular demand for legislation on the question of nomination reform. A bill was drafted by some very well-intentioned people, but without much experience, and that bill under the law was submitted to the people for affirmation. There was no chance for discussion or working out a measure that would represent the best ideas, and the only way the people who believed in nomination reform could give voice to their opinion was by voting for that bill, and the result a poorly-drawn bill was adopted, which has not been satisfactory. A great many people think that nomination reform has broken down. That is not the case. The trouble is there was no carefully devised bill submitted. That is a phase that I think we want to consider very carefully.

Compulsory Initiative.

The question of referring legislation to a vote of the people for their vote, especially legislation involving the granting of rights, privileges and

franchises, is an important matter. We have it continually in the corporations where leases of franchises of privileges must be submitted to a vote of the stockholders, but we do not do it in our municipalities except in very rare instances. Some of the instances which Mr. Post has pointed out. There, I think, the plan is a very excellent one, but I think we want to bear in mind, as Mr. Paine has told us, that the initiative is one thing and what is known as compulsory initiative a very different method. I think the ideal system would be for the people, by a vote, to indicate that they want legislation upon a particular subject, and then leave it to the Legislature, which would be much more likely under those circumstances to be composed of picked men, to work out the details. Legislation is a very difficult piece of business, and you cannot expect, no matter how intelligent your community may be, to have it work out as a whole a bill that will be satisfactory. You have got to leave that to a board of experts, preferably the legislature. What you want to do is to remove the troubles which come from men tampering with the Legislature, and that I think the referendum and initiative does.

The Difficulty of Legislation.

Mr. Paine: I think there is a provision in the Oregon Constitution that while the bill must be referred intact, there is also a provision that the Legislature must refer also at the same time an alternative provision or bill, thus giving a chance for an improved suggestion.

Mr. Kelsey: There are many members of the League who are in grave doubt as to what this question means. It has seemed to me that if we are going to take up the initiative that we shall have to change our whole system of government, in a measure at least. There is a good deal, perhaps, in the thought that relieving the responsibility lessens further responsibility perhaps to a diminishing point, so far as our representatives are concerned. If we take for instance a young man or a young woman and never throw them upon their own resources we are not apt to get the development, the individuality, that obtains when the reverse course is pursued. In our representative government, if we say to our men who are selected to represent us that "we cannot hold you responsible and will not trust you, that we are to take this power back and settle the matter ourselves," it seems to me this involves a very radical change. I don't refer to this as being opposed to the initiative and referendum, but merely as a suggestive thought in connection with the subject.

Representative Government.

It has seemed to me that in some measures which have come before the communities in New Jersey that the referendum has worked very well. In other cases I think its success may perhaps be doubted. I am quite in accord with the suggestion made by the Secretary, in effect that legislation is a very complicated piece of business, and in our complexity of interests both national, state and municipal, the question at once arises how the mass of the electorate, for instance, are going to undertake to pass upon

these questions of principle. We may in a few instances possibly, as in the granting of franchises or in the appropriation of large sums of municipal or county or state funds, submit such a question directly to the electorate, and say, "Shall we have this improvement to cost so much, or shall we not?" That is a comparatively simple question, and I doubt if there can be any objection from any disinterested source as to the desirability of the referendum as to that point. But when we go further and say to our Legislature—to the Congress, if you please, in a larger sense, or the county or municipal board—"All your acts will have to come back to us for approval," or rather, that "We will go still further and take the initiative in all legislation," it seems to me that that is such a radical departure that we may very well ask whether that rule does not change our whole system of responsible government. To attempt to adopt in our complicated and extended system the simple town meeting plan of government (which we, perhaps, all theoretically agree is an ideal proposition), is a serious question. How it would work out if adopted nationally, or in a more modified and restricted sense, is a question that I think we should give very careful thought to.

MR. FREIBERG: I should say that the practical question of working out this referendum idea has been tried very lately in Ohio. There has been a league formed in southwestern Ohio known as the Referendum League. This League made an attempt during the last session of the Legislature to introduce a bill providing for a reference to the people, under certain conditions, of any general question. I might say that the suggestion was hardly entertained at all by the committee of the Legislature having that in charge; but it was soon to be seen that if a measure should be introduced in the Legislature and the Constitution revamped so as to provide for reference to the people of specific questions, it would be a much easier thing to bring about than the passage of a law or a constitutional amendment providing that all general questions may be submitted to the people for their vote. In the state of Ohio, for instance, we have had for many years, just as Mr. Paine has pointed out there exists to-day in Massachusetts—we have had the practice of submitting to the people questions for their own determination. For example, voting on the subject of the liquor question, and the question of having saloons open at certain times. I believe that nearly every state in the Union has in some form adopted that practice. Those laws are called local option laws, and I doubt very much if your ordinary voter would realize that a local option law is a typical case of referendum. The name seems to be a thing that is associated with cranks and long-haired people generally, and for that reason it is very hard to get even the people themselves to take up the idea of the referendum.

The Referendum in Ohio.

There is another objection which has occurred to me, and which has occurred to a great many writers on the subject, and that is the necessity

in most of the states in this Union for a change in the very constitution of these states before these questions can be submitted to the people, and it is quite well known that a change in the constitution is quite as hard as to change the laws of the Medes and Persians. The supreme courts of nearly all states have discussed the question of delegation of power by the Legislature to communities or boards, and it is pretty hard for any one who has studied the question to see how under the present constitution it is possible at all to delegate powers in this way, for it would seem to involve a complete subversion of our present scheme of government, as was justly pointed out by a prior speaker.

Objections to the Referendum.

For some strange reason, however, our courts have almost invariably found no difficulty in ruling that the local option laws are not in that degree an infringement of the constitution. They have overridden objections as being purely technical, and it seems to me possible, therefore, that if there is a submission to the Legislature of a plan to allow the referendum on large questions which are more or less simple in their nature, it will soon be possible to have these put into practice. For example, in the city of Cincinnati, Cincinnati owns a railroad which is an asset of the city, supposed to be worth nearly $30,000,000. Some years ago, on more than one occasion, there was submitted to the people by an act of the Legislature the question as to what disposition should for the time being be made of the road, whether or not it should be leased or whether or not it should be sold. It is true the threshing out of that question in the city of Cincinnati shows how even on referendum, politics may enter.

It was nearly possible for the boss of the city, who was supposed to have made large sums of money at the time, to be able to carry that question on the one side or the other quite as effectively as he is able to carry his conventions and elect his officers. But to sum up, it seems to me that the whole question of referendum in our older and more conservative states is going to be, in the beginning at least, very much more effectively worked out providing those who favor that form of legislation will confine their efforts to having provision made for voting on a simple question, rather than to obtrude on the very conservative corporation-owned legislature a general law calling for referenda to the people.

DR. HARTWELL: Of course the question of what the people will do if they have the referendum cannot be decided until the people express themselves upon it, and show in practice whether they care to make use of it. They have shown their disposition towards certain kinds of referenda in the state of Massachusetts. I have had occasion to study the strength of the voting habit in Boston using the per cent of interest, *i. e.*, the per cent of actual to possible vote as a standard of measurement. It is clear that the voters of Boston (and there are indications that it is true for the state as well) are more interested in contests in which offices are involved than they are in contests relating purely to public policy or political principles.

Referenda in Massachusetts.

As a rule, both the registration and percentage of registered voters who vote are greatest in years when there is a Presidential election. Furthermore, interest in what may be termed local contests, such as the election for representatives to the General Court and members of the Common Council is less than that shown in the election of Governor and Congressman. Boston voters show most interest in the election of President; next in the election of Mayor; then of Governor, and Congressmen, and least of all in referenda as a class. Constitutional amendments, for instance, have always elicited a relatively small vote. In the period 1890-1899, twenty questions of various sorts were referred to the voters of Boston for their decision, but only 64 per cent of the registered voters took the trouble to vote on the questions so submitted. In one case a special election was held in the summer to decide for or against the incorporation of an elevated railway. The total vote cast amounted to 33.4 per cent of the registered voters, and on the question of granting municipal suffrage to women only 66 per cent of the registered male voters and 59 per cent of the registered female voters expressed their opinion.

Registration and Voting.

In the ten years alluded to, the voters of Boston voted ten times on the annually recurring question of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors. The mean per cent of interest in the ten referenda on the license question amounted to 67; while the corresponding per cent for the other ten questions was only 61, but in the same decade the mean per cent of interest shown in the election of President amounted to 85.4 against 78.4 in the election of Mayor, 77.7 for Congressmen, and 63.5 in the election of School Committee.

The Massachusetts voter sometimes does surprising things. In 1904 in the state at large as well as in Boston more interest was shown in the election for Governor than in the election for President. The state gave Roosevelt a majority of 92,000, but elected Douglas, a Democrat, by a majority of nearly 36,000. In Boston 84.6 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls. This was a smaller per cent of interest than was shown in 1900 or in 1896. Moreover, of the 96,634 voters who went to the polls, 6,020 cast blank or defective ballots for President against 4,615 ballots of the same sort cast for Governor.

The indifference and apathy of the Massachusetts electorate is frequently charged to the changed character of the people by reason of immigration and other changed conditions, but I venture to point out that as long ago as 1780, in which year the present Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, the Massachusetts voter did not show strong inclination to make the most of his opportunity. In that year, for the first time since the days of the Colony, after the voters of Massachusetts were privileged to elect their own governor, they did elect John Hancock, but one-fourth of the towns in the state of Massachusetts, which then included the present state of Maine, either failed to hold an election

Indifference and Apathy in Massachusetts.

for governor or to make returns to the authorities of the state. Indeed, the proportion of towns which failed to make any return of votes on the question as to adopting the proposed Constitution of 1780, was nearly as large as the proportions of towns that failed to vote for governor. We are prone to consider that our forefathers were necessarily saints and sages and statesmen, and in furtherance of such view we multiply societies of sons and daughters. We would lead our children to suppose that our forefathers and theirs were fully alive to their duties and opportunities as regards the discussion and expression of political opinions, but even allowing for the difficulties of travel and the sparse population of the country it is evident that the Massachusetts electorate at an early date contained a large contingent of silent and stay-at-home voters. Even towns within twenty miles of Boston in the election for governor in 1780 failed to hold an election. It is now a political maxim with us that as "Hull goes, so goes the state." In 1780 Hull had nothing to say on the question of who should be governor!

MR. PAINE: Dr. Hartwell is the statistician of Boston, and what he does not know is hardly worth knowing, but some time ago I looked up the referendum in Boston he has been referring to. There were thirteen in thirteen years, and I think that with the exception of that one in July, which is the worst time to have an election, and above all a special referendum to the people without any other interest to bring them to the polls, at other times he would be surprised to see what a large proportion of the vote there was. I think the highest was 75; but at other times the proportion of people voting on these questions was very large compared with the vote for the head of the ticket. These questions come at the foot of the ballot, and any political statistician will tell you it seems to follow in pretty regular order that the head of the ticket gets the most votes and then there are fewer and fewer down the ticket to the bottom unless there is an unusual interest.

Now, even if Mr. Hartwell is right as to the number of people who vote upon these questions that are referred to them, what is the result?

The Submission of Constitutional Amendments.

We cannot have our Constitution in Massachusetts amended without reference to the people. If the people can vote on this most vital question, cannot they vote just as safely on less fundamental questions? Two of the questions referred to the people of Boston were amendments to the Constitution, and only about 63 per cent voted on them. In one case 75 per cent voted on one of the referendums referred to above. Five other cases received more than 63 per cent. They vary. It depends upon the real interest in the question submitted. But certainly a percentage of votes that is sufficient to adopt or defeat an amendment to the fundamental constitution is sufficient to adopt or defeat a mere statute. If no objection is made—and none has been—to the more important question, why should it be to the less important? Certainly it should be sufficient

as an expression of opinion as a mere guide to later legislation. But if the people do not vote on a question calling for the expression of their opinion, they are not interested, and that means that nothing is done. If the vote is overwhelming, then the Legislature will act in accordance with it. So the very size of a vote is a sign of what the will of the people is.

The question was actually referred to the people in 1895, "Shall municipal suffrage be granted to women?" The Legislature passed the law calling for an expression of opinion by all the voters of the state, not only the men, but the women who are allowed to vote for members of the school board. The women overwhelmingly voted for it, but the men were three to one against it.

In 1896, after twenty years of threshing it out, they thought we ought to have biennial elections of state officers and members of the Legislature, and two constitutional amendments were referred to the people, and the people voted against them. That is, they simply killed the proposition, so that the Legislature has given no further consideration to it. It has not come up to bother the committees, and the Governor said that these decisive votes will now give a quietus to these questions which have been bothering us for a number of years. If that is so, does not it also hold good as a guiding policy for representatives?

The only way to get good government is to arouse the people on the questions which concern them, that they may be interested not in partisanship, not in machine rule, but in the questions that concern them, and the best way to do that is to give them a means to express their opinion.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we shall have to be satisfied this morning with having had a start on this subject, which I hope will be continued at subsequent meetings of the League. I hope it will be taken up when we have some representatives here from Chicago, where there have been some very interesting experiments with the referendum, but I think we shall have to close this particular discussion in view of the subsequent meetings.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION.

The sixth session of the Conference was held in Hotel Chalfonte, with Horace E. Deming, Esq., in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the nearly dozen years since the National Municipal League was founded, it has found occasion quite often to render services to the public. But during last year it has had an unexampled record. Never before in its history have so many of its members and its officers been called upon to render service in public stations, and it is because of the retention in such service by Mr. Guthrie at Pittsburg that I am called upon to preside in his absence to-night. We have word from a loyal member of the League from Pittsburg, Mr. Oliver McClintock, who writes us in regard to Mr. Guthrie, explaining his absence as follows: "Mr. Guthrie

is so deeply engrossed, both in matters involved in his city administration and also as chairman of the big California relief fund that is being raised here, that he cannot get away from the city. His administration is winning universal praise for its resolute and intelligent policy in behalf of the public interest."

THE SECRETARY: Since that letter was written, I have received a telegram from Mr. McClintock which before I read I should like to preface with a word or two of explanation. One result of Mr. Guthrie's election in Pittsburg was a resolute effort made to bring the Chamber of Commerce, a strong, vigorous body of men, into line for better things municipally. Heretofore, it has been merely a business body, somewhat under the control of corporate interests, which were not altogether identical with municipal interests. Mr. McClintock, who has been a member with Mr. Guthrie of our body for ten years, and who is this year joined by a third, Mr. H. D. W. English, took part in a vigorous movement to bring the Chamber of Commerce into line with the leading business bodies in other cities. They succeeded to an unexpected degree, and the telegram which I received to-day indicates that Mr. English, who, as I mentioned to-day, has just been elected to our own executive committee, has been elected to the Presidency of the Chamber of Commerce, thus insuring progressive administration of that body's business, and showing a great advance along that line.

Pittsburg's Progress.

I am also asked on behalf of Mr. Leeds, our host, to whom we are indebted for many courtesies, to state that those who expect to attend the dinner to-morrow night at the Chelsea will be so kind as to leave word with the cashier to that effect this evening.

In this connection I should like to say that it is the usual custom of the National Municipal League to wind up its proceedings with a dinner. Mr. Leeds graciously extended an invitation to us to have the usual dinner under his auspices. It was discovered, however, that the date fixed for our dinner conflicted with the date fixed for the New Jersey Bankers' dinner at the Chelsea, a dinner which will call together two or three hundred members of New Jersey banking institutions, as well as a considerable number of Atlantic City men. So it was suggested that instead of having two dinners that the National Municipal League delegates be invited to attend the dinner of the Bankers' Association, and Mr. Bonaparte, as representing the National Municipal League, be asked to join with Secretary Taft, Senator Dryden, and Governor Stokes in addressing the Bankers' Association, and thus reach an audience that we would not otherwise reach.

I am sorry to say that we have had to pay quite a considerable price for that combination, namely, we have to omit the ladies from the invitation. For the past twelve years the ladies have always been invited to the National Municipal League dinners. The bankers, to that extent, have

fallen behind us, or have not kept up to us, but as we are to be their guests to-morrow evening, as I said a moment ago, we have to pay the price of not inviting the ladies. But I am sure the ladies will be perfectly willing to make that sacrifice when it involves the National Municipal League through its President, reaching an audience of between two or three hundred leading men from all parts of the state of New Jersey who are not at the present moment particularly interested in municipal reform, but who I am sure will be after dinner to-morrow evening, and after Mr. Bonaparte's address.

MR. DEMING: We are all the more gratified, we of the National Municipal League, that we have so many ladies with us to-night, for to-morrow night we shall have no better society than mere bankers. (Laughter.)

The League's Services.

As you may have inferred from what I said a moment or two ago, the National Municipal League is rather glad when the public asked service of its distinguished members, and we have never demurred when it has been a question of electing one of our members a mayor of a city, a member of the council, or comptroller or auditor, or appointing him to a city office. We feel as if that is only the due of the National Municipal League, and if the city would be all the better for the services of members; but when one of our members, our distinguished President, was invited into the national service, we did demur, we demurred most strongly; we wished to retain that gentleman in the National Municipal League, and finally we compromised, and our compromise was that it was only fair that that gentleman who knew something about the severity of such test should first pass successfully a civil service examination. (Applause.) And the first and last and only question was, "Will you agree once a year to attend the meeting of the National Municipal League and deliver the annual address." The answer was, "I will," and that is how our President, Mr. Bonaparte, was finally appointed Secretary of the Navy. (Laughter.) And that is why, in fulfilment of that pledge, and in proof that he has passed a perfect civil service examination, showing him well qualified to fulfil the duties of those offices, that we have Mr. Bonaparte with us to-night. (Applause.)

HONORABLE CHARLES J. BONAPARTE: Ladies and Gentlemen: I must preface what I am about to say by an apology for not having come sooner in order to comply with the terms of the examination to which Mr. Deming has referred. I have been engaged lately in the "last" obsequies of Paul Jones, and in the entertainment of the officers from the French Republic who came over to take part in that interesting event.

There were many reasons which caused me to feel that however interesting the exercises at Annapolis, and the entertainments at Washington may have been, I lost much in not attending the previous sessions of the League, but until this evening I had not been sufficiently presumptious to think that the League has lost anything through my non-attendance, but I

must say I think if I had been at the helm here the ladies would not have been excluded to-morrow evening. (Laughter and applause.) Therefore, I feel that it has been perhaps a misfortune for them, as well as certainly one for myself.

Mr. Bonaparte then delivered his annual address as President of the National Municipal League, his subject being, "Why We Have Unsatisfactory Public Servants and How We Can Get Good Ones," for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bonaparte's address the meeting adjourned.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION.

The seventh session of the Conference was held at the Hotel Chalfonte at 10.45 a. m., with President Bonaparte in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT: Before commencing the papers which are to be read to-day, I am asked to state that an effort will be made to dispose of the remaining papers on our program this morning, and in this connection I should like to make a word of explanation. It has been the custom of the League for a number of years past to gather together in connection with its annual meeting a series of papers on various municipal topics, not solely for presentation at the annual meeting, but for publication in the proceedings, and for the information of members throughout the year. Following that plan this year we have had a number of papers entered on the program without any thought that they would be read. In fact, if all the papers asked for were to be read it would take more time than we have set aside. This is particularly true of this morning's program.

Municipal Ownership and Operation.

The question of municipal ownership and operation is one that is attracting a great deal of attention at this time, and we have gathered together papers on the situation in Logansport, Ind.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Detroit, Mich.; Duluth, Minn.; Cleveland, O., and Lincoln, Neb.* The papers are here, and it is moved that they be accepted for printing. Those in favor of this course respecting the papers in question will signify it by saying Aye; those opposed, No. It seems to commend itself to the judgment of the League.

The first paper to-day is on the "Scope and Character of the Work of the Commission Appointed by the National Civic Federation to Enquire into the Advantages and Drawbacks of Municipal Operation." It will be read by Mr. E. A. Moffett, the Secretary of the Commission, who may be remembered by many of those present as the editor of the *International Bricklayers' Journal.*

Mr. Moffett then read his paper, for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

* For further reference to these papers see the Table of Contents.

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be an address on "Illustrative Experiences in Massachusetts," by Mr. Harvey S. Chase, of Boston, expert accountant.

MR. HARVEY S. CHASE: Before touching on the subject which I have before me, I would like to bring up a point for the purpose of illustrating what has been done in the past and what may be done, and probably will be done, on new lines which are now being attempted.

I have in my hand the report of the Comptroller of the city of Baltimore. The city of Baltimore was the second city in the United States to issue its report upon the standard law laid out by the League's Committee upon Uniform Municipal Accounting, and it has persisted from the first in that good work, and to-day it has its Comptroller's report laid out upon those original lines comprising all the different schedules as they were first devised; and although there has been a marked improvement in those schedules, and although with a reasonable time we shall hope that Baltimore will adopt the latest instead of the earliest, it is an interesting fact and an encouraging one to find that the second city which took up the subject still continues; in fact, the very wording is used of the original lines. I should like to quote from what the Comptroller says, just a phrase: "To the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore: Gentlemen, the report of this department for the year 1903 is hereby presented, containing the comparison under the uniform system of municipal accounting approved by the National Municipal League, which has met with the universal approval of our citizens as well as the leading accountants of the day."

Uniform Accounting and Reporting.

THE PRESIDENT: All members of the League will, of course, make preparations to come on to Baltimore, and there they will have the advantage of reading the reports of the Comptroller, as all Baltimoreans do very carefully, prepared upon the scientific lines recommended by the League.

Mr. Chase then read his paper, for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE PRESIDENT: Before calling for the next paper mentioned, and afterwards for the discussion to which we are looking forward, I am requested to read two telegrams: The first is from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, (they are both addressed to the Secretary) and announces, "Lancaster, Pennsylvania, League will join national body. Delegates will attend Friday." They are now here, so it is a great satisfaction to the League that they arrived in time for the dinner. (Laughter.)

The second telegram is from Philadelphia: "Please extend City Club's invitation to National League to meet in Philadelphia next year. The City Club, A. E. Turner, Chairman Executive Committee." The Committee of Seventy join in the request, and we are asked to send an answer. That is read for the information of the League, and unless it occurs to some one that another disposition of it is proper, it will be laid aside for

the mature consideration of the Executive Committee, who will reply somewhat in the style of the letter of which I am called upon to sign a great many just now, expressing a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction and gratitude at the invitation, and assuring the person sending it that it has been filed away for due consideration. (Laughter.)

THE SECRETARY: Right in this connection, may I say that invitations have also been received from Chicago, Toronto (the Mayor and City Council and the officials of a number of Canadian municipalities uniting in the invitation), and from Norfolk. And there have also been oral invitations to be backed up later by formal invitations from New Haven and Minneapolis. And there have also been oral invitations from Pittsburg and Buffalo, showing a very keen desire, and Cincinnati has given us a standing invitation. The latch-string of Cincinnati is out to the National Municipal League whenever we choose to pull it.

THE PRESIDENT: The League has every reason to be grateful at the desire for its society.

The League will now have the pleasure of hearing from the Hon. James M. Head, former mayor of Nashville, Tenn.

Mayor Head then delivered an address, for further reference to which see the Table of Contents.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have had a very interesting discussion of the topic, and it is eminently right for the expression of the views which have been slowly developing in the various members of the League since they heard the first paper read on this subject. It will give me a great deal of pleasure to recognize any gentleman, and still greater pleasure to recognize any lady who desires to speak on this subject. I will mention, however, in connection with the last announcement that it is not necessary for any one present to repudiate the association in which married women were mentioned by the last speaker. (Laughter.) I thought that when Mr. Head commenced that comparison he was going to say that the legal relations between the city and the state bear some resemblance to the legal relation which is supposed to exist between a woman and her husband, and there would have been a little more accuracy in that statement than perhaps would at first be obvious, for the city is very often not only the best part, but the most effective part of the state.

On the other propositions which have been suggested, which are perhaps more open to debate than the one he inadvertently raised, I should be most happy to arrange a discussion for anybody present who feels moved to give it.

MR. GEORGE L. FOX, of New Haven: I simply want to ask Mr. Head a single question. I suppose that the coal supply of Nashville is pretty close at hand, is it not?

MR. HEAD: Yes, sir.

MR. FOX: Would it not, therefore, be just to infer that reasonable profits could be made in most cities where the rates for furnishing gas and electricity are as low as at Nashville.

MR. HEAD: No, it would not.

MR. FOX: I was thoroughly well pleased indeed with his story of the achievement there. I think this account is most encouraging.

MR. KELSEY: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the previous speaker in reference to the matter of limited franchises. As I understand from his remarks, he rather favors the Massachusetts plan, so called, under which plan the franchise is not granted for any specific time, but is revocable on the action of the municipal authorities, or the state commission, or both.

Limited Franchises.

In New Jersey the plan was adopted of limiting the franchise, with a condition that at the end of the limitation of time the franchise reverts to the municipality, and I should like to ask Mayor Head whether under that condition of reverting franchises, that does not remove the objection to which he refers?

MR. HEAD: It does not remove the objection to which I allude, that at the time of the reverting you have focussed the time at which you induce the corporation to go into politics to elect its own officials to get a renewal of the franchise. That is the objection to it. You simply concentrate on one election, and unless you are very different from what we are in our section of the country, if the corporate interests of our state and city unite at one time on any one idea, it is a herculean task to overcome them, if you do it at all. That is the only objection that I see to it. I believe the limited franchise is infinitely better than the unlimited, but I think what is better still is simply the reservation of the right of the city at any time to resume control of its property.

MR. DEMING: May I ask the last speaker how he would keep the corporation out of politics at any time, if at all times this notice might be given? Would not that compel the corporation to keep somebody there all the while to prevent that notice being given?

Corporations and Politics.

MR. HEAD: No, for the reason is that you have to give twelve months' notice. Then you make your effort to resume control of your utilities. Then you can go on until another effort is made. In the meantime, they are not in politics. It is not necessary for them to be in politics. That has been the practical operation. The gas company of Nashville was actively in politics all the time until this settlement was made. For ten years, during which time they had this right, they have been absolutely out of politics. The street-car company was actively in politics until this settlement was made. Since that time they have taken no part in the politics of this city. It is unnecessary for them to do so. There is no movement on foot seeking to acquire possession of their rights, and therefore it is unnecessary for them to pay any attention to politics. If you make the effort to acquire control, you bring them into politics.

MR. DEMING: Then your suggestion differs from the Massachusetts plan referred to. You would have a twelve months' notice and get both sides into politics, and not give the notice unless it was necessary?

MR. HEAD: Yes.

MR. DEMING: Whereas the perpetual irrevocable idea keeps somebody in politics all the time to prevent notice being given.

MR. KELSEY: May I bring out one other point? In considering this important question of the limiting of these public utility franchises in New Jersey, more especially in Essex County, where the movement originated, we considered very carefully the Massachusetts plan, or the plan that has been indicated by our friend who preceded me. The two objections, the two paramount objections, one of which has been referred to by Mr. Deming, were, first, the objection that was made by the other side, that the change was so radical a departure from the system which had heretofore prevailed that there would be no extensions of the trolley system made, and that it would immediately shut off the extensions of lines from the cities into the country, and which is such a great accommodation to so many people.

Objections to Changes in Policy.

The second point has not been referred to. I wish to emphasize it in connection with the very able presentment made by our friend from Nashville: We found in New Jersey that as a matter of fact when these special interests concentrate, as they have upon this question of franchises, that they appoint and control the appointment of the commissions that have this matter in charge, and we anticipate that if we copied the Massachusetts plan or the plan which has been so ably defended, or rather advocated, we have reason to anticipate from our past experience that the railroad commission, or the municipal commission, that might be empowered to terminate that franchise at any time would become a creature of these special interests and do the work of those interests, and hence a franchise that was limited by the cancellation by the authorities would be practically perpetual, because with these men in control it would be impossible to get them to limit it. That was the practical question on this railroad question, where the people of New Jersey have been defrauded out of millions of dollars for years, simply because the Governor and the people having the appointing power were the willing and subservient instruments of those special interests, and selected their own men.

MR. HEAD: May I make one suggestion? The suggestion that I had in mind was to do away with your commission altogether, but to make the appeal to a vote of the people. Let them pass upon whether they will acquire these franchises. That is your remedy.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. President, as a contribution to the general discussion, I happen this morning to have received a letter from an English correspondent, who keeps me more or less in touch with the municipal ownership movement on the opposite side. He has written me a letter to the effect that the very grave danger that confronts the English municipalities is the fact that their debt is piling up so very rapidly and to such

an enormous extent. He says: "As you know, we are piling up debts all around. I speak feelingly, because I bought London Council three per cent shares some years ago at ninety-nine and a fraction, and they are now down to ninety-two and a fraction, and I see no hope of their regaining their former position. I saw it stated the other day that the total debt of London was in excess of the total assessment value. I believe other cities are in the same position, and still the debt goes piling up. Unfortunately, those who usually get into municipal councils are not those who have money, so they frequently vote away other people's. The socialistic element is one to be reckoned with, as they have no sympathy with the capitalist class, and are strongly in favor of pressing forward municipal trading."

English Experience.

Mr. Paine: That letter is interesting, but I wonder if two things do not occur to us as we listen to it. In the first place, when it spoke of the reduction of the market value on the bonds, must we not compare the special bonds under discussion with other bonds? I think we all know that within the last few years the consols of England have fallen, so that they have been very low, and I think they are still low. So that it may be that the reduced market value is limited only to London bonds, or it may be that it is typical, you might say, of the other bonds of all England.

And then as to debt. In Boston we have tried to consider the question of debt from this new point of view—that while debt may be incurred for "waste" purposes and for bonds thus issued and spent, you have nothing to show for them, yet, on the other hand, they may be issued for such things as we have issued them for, as for instance our Boston Subway, which is a very valuable asset, worth to-day far more than the bonds issued for it and bringing in a rental which is not only paying interest on those bonds, but is providing a sinking fund which will within the life of the bonds pay off the entire issue of the bonds and leave the city of Boston with it as an asset, which, after a term of forty years, will bring in forever thereafter probably an increasing rental, so that while the gross debt has indeed piled up, we are now trying to analyze our debt into a productive and non-productive debt. The debt in which the asset is worth as much or more than the debt is something to be differentiated from those debts which, like war debts, once spent, leave nothing to show for them. And this is a very common error in the discussion of this question. When we start a first-rate electric plant we have an asset. The company considers that asset as an offset to its debt. It is considered not a debt, but as the capital, and the bigger the company the heavier it is. When the same thing is done by a public corporation, the larger the debt and the greater the liability, the poorer the community is stated to be, and yet you may easily see on analysis that that community is getting ahead of the game all the time, and is going to be, as with us in Boston with our

The Question of Debts and Assets.

Subway, the owner of very valuable income-bearing properties. (Applause.)

MR. POWERS: The average rate of interest on all municipal securities in Great Britain has changed in the last fifteen years about one-half of one per cent. The rate of interest has also changed in the United States on municipal bonds, as is reflected in the sale of New York City bonds; very nearly half per cent if you take into account the earning power of money, but this is not common to the municipality. It is common in very large measure to all corporate securities. It affects the rate of interest upon everything. It is not something that relates to cities alone either in Great Britain or in this country. There is one statement in the letter which was read to us that I should like to have elucidated, because it is likely, in my opinion, to be misleading. As I understood the statement, it refers to the amount of debt being greater than the assessed valuation. Now, that sounds very large and very harsh in this country, where our assessed valuation represents the assessed valuation of property, that is, its selling value. We must remember, however, that in Great Britain the assessment is not the value of the property but the rental; that is, if a property is worth $1,000 and it rents at 4 per cent, it is $40. Its assessment in Great Britain as compared with that in this country would be $40 there as against $1,000 here. Now, then, your assessed value referred to in that letter is not our assessed value, but the English assessed value of rentals—income. And thus you have by the statement of the letter a very fallacious proposition to the American people. It is absolutely true, but like many other truths, it is made to do service that even lies ought to be ashamed of. (Applause.)

The Rate of Interest.

MR. FOX: I don't wish to take too much time and I would like to discuss the last paper, but I wish to speak about one or two things that were suggested by the address of the ex-Mayor of Nashville. I have not changed my position taken five or six years ago at the famous conference of the Reform Club with regard to the undesirability of our attempting in this country to go into municipal ownership to anything like the degree that has been done in England, but I do wish to say very heartily that the middle-ground compromise, as our friend called it, is the true solution of this question. I differ with him. He would have gone further than I did. I am exceedingly glad he could not. It was far better that he did not. They have got in Nashville the desirable results, and they have avoided a great many terrible evils which have come from municipal ownership. It is unfair and unjust to argue from success in England similar success in this country, for many reasons. I will detail but one or two.

The Middle-Ground Compromise.

In England long ago the merit system was absolutely established in all lines of municipal activity, and it still remains. We have not got anything

like it in this country to that degree, and therefore I repeat what I said six years ago. The true position with this question is: "When thou hast been faithful in a few things we will make you ruler over many things." In the meantime, we need to do what they have done in Nashville. To use a favorite phrase of a newspaper friend of mine, we need to use the sheathed club with immense efficacy, as was done so well by the gentleman from Nashville. There are the three methods, (1) of leaving corporations entirely alone, (2) of swallowing up the corporation, or (3) of controlling the corporations. The middle ground is what has been done so well in Nashville, and I believe most earnestly and enthusiastically that such is the system to be followed out in this country.

Now with regard to the point brought up before as to the report from England. That report from England is in some degree true, and to a considerable degree, although it may sound wrong to us in America, who are not familiar with the situation. The fact is that steadily in England rates—to use the English expression—or local taxes have steadily increased, and they bear more heavily upon the wage-earner than anybody else, and whether you call it assessed valuation or the rental valuation, the end of it is just the same. Rates are going up and rents are going up just as they went up in New York City on the East Side when taxes were increased, and therefore some of the best men who are interested in London are somewhat alarmed, and some of the most efficient members of the London County Council with whom I am acquainted are anxious about the future. Therefore, we have to look with a great deal of seriousness at the growing debt of England.

Increase in English Taxation.

Now, the second point which I wish to speak of that makes it unfair to argue from success in England similar success in America is this: The word socialism is used in two senses. This is a favorite point of mine, but I like to emphasize it, although some have heard it before. In England that word means to some one thing and to others another thing, and they are well typified in two persons much in the public print now in England; one is my friend, the Right Hon. John Burns, who is a socialist of one sort, and the other, Keir Hardie, leader of the Labor party, a socialist of a very different type—a strange combination. The essential difference between those two socialists is this—I have heard John Burns say at least five times: Whenever any man gets any special benefit from state or municipality or town, you must make him pay part or the whole of the cost price of that out of his own pocket so that it will not come upon the rates. If you have a water supply it must be self-supporting or make money, as it does in New York. If either gas or electric trolley, it must do the same thing. If you have a lodging-house, it must do the same. That is John Burns' idea.

Keir Hardie and the Countess of Warwick take a different tone. They say, "You must pay for it all out of the public treasury and let the benefit

go as it pleases." Now, that is the fatal and very marked fallacy in any argument from success in England to success in America in that respect. Here we have very much of that dead-beat socialism. They are working toward it in England, I am sorry to say. It is seen in New York, for instance. As to the new city ferry, I saw only the other day that the city comptroller said in the course of time they must have all city ferries free, and the same thing is working in other directions. It is the virus of this demoralizing example. Like Dr. Chambers' famous sermon on the self-propagating power of sin, and therefore until you get well established two things in this country, namely, first, an absolute merit system from top to bottom, and second, that you will not have dead-beat socialism which says "Let somebody else pay for what I use," but the Dutch treat socialism which says "Let every man pay for what he gets," we must go very slowly in favor of municipal ownership. But we welcome the example of Massachusetts and Nashville as the sheathed club by which we will say to the corporations, "You shall not swindle us." (Applause.)

MR. POWERS: In Boston the assessed valuation is full value, while in Illinois it is about one-half and in Iowa one-fifth. Now, all that has to be taken into account in making comparisons between valuations and debts and so forth. But after allowing for that we have got an enormous variation between Great Britain and even the most exceptional of our American states.

MR. KELSEY: I should like to ask the gentleman who favors John Burns' limited view of socialism what his view would be in regard to public schools, for instance.

MR. FOX: I am very glad to hear from you, sir. That is something I have fought for some time. Free education should end with the period of compulsory education. All the money spent from the public treasury should be spent on the grammar school; very little should be spent on the public high school or upon the state university. Under the present system you rob the wage-earning taxpayer, and he is the one you ought to consider, and must, when you do that. There is no country in the world that is so unjust to the wage-earning taxpayer as this, simply because it taxes him for a function of government which not ten per cent of them can enjoy. (Applause.)

Public Schools.

MR. KELSEY: Then I understand the gentleman would make an exception so far as the primary school is concerned.

MR. FOX: I certainly would, and it is easily justifiable.

MR. FREIBERG: Would it not be better to extend the function of the public school along the lines of university extension, along the lines New York is doing in its public lecture course, so that when they pay for it every one gets the advantage of it? (Applause.)

MR. FOX: We are not discussing that matter, but if the Chairman will consent, I shall be very glad to answer that.

THE PRESIDENT: The subject is exceedingly interesting, but we are,

unfortunately, approaching the time when all of these valuable ideas will have to bear their fruition in the practical work of the members of the League in their different municipalities.

You all know that in the House of Lords the Lord High Chancellor has a very great advantage. It is not considered necessary there that the presiding officer of the body should refrain from debate; on the contrary—(Applause.)

MR. FOX: Go ahead.

THE PRESIDENT: I see you take the hint. I was going to say that he generally managed to get the floor when he wanted it, however it might be for anybody else.

There were two things which occurred to me during this discussion about which I thought I might inflict one or two minutes of further detention upon the long-suffering members of the League. Suffering merely, I mean, in that they have stayed to hear so much from me. (Laughter.) The first of these is that there is a very important legal question which is often lost sight of in this discussion. Now, it was suggested in the course of the discussion which arose over the very excellent address of Mr. Head that the franchises granted to a corporation should terminate at some particular time, and then revert to the city, but as a matter of fact, it is absolutely essential to remember that a municipal corporation has the power to grant franchises, as a delegated power only. The power to grant a franchise is one of the elements of sovereignty, and if the franchise comes to an end, it reverts not to the body that has granted it, through the permission of a superior, but to the superior itself.

Legal Difficulties.

It may be said that that ought to be altered, and that the municipalities of our country should be organized as *imperium in imperio* within the state. If you go into that question you immediately find yourself face to face with the consideration of a far wider scheme than applies to any question of municipal ownership. Therefore, bear in mind the fact that while it undoubtedly was a great inconvenience to the New York reformers to find that they had to go to the state in order to get the authority for the city to do what it wanted to do, that was simply because at the time when cities were organized, they were not organized for these purposes. These are purposes which in the progress of civilization are gradually coming to be regarded as more or less legitimate parts of municipal duties, but they were not originally regarded as any part of municipal duty. One of the examples of that is in the water companies. Originally, nearly all of our municipalities were supplied with water by private corporations. Usually they now are when they commence to be municipalities. After a certain length of time it is found advisable to transfer that function to the city itself, and we have now got accustomed to having the city furnish its own water, and yet we are not yet accustomed to the city

Legitimate Municipal Duties.

furnishing its own gas or electricity. The consequence is that we come to look upon it as more natural that the city should own its waterworks than that it should own its gas works or its electric-light plant.

There is one other thing I wanted to say—taking advantage of this opportunity to impose upon your patience: In my own city of Baltimore, at the time when they first issued franchises for the street railroads, there was imposed on the railway companies a tax of 20 per cent of their gross revenue for the support of the public parks. That, so far as I know, is the only city in which that was done in the first instance, the only occasion where a price was asked and paid for the original use of the streets. That has been in many respects a very good arrangement. It is an excellent arrangement as far as the park system is concerned. It has also had certain incidental advantages. It has maintained the public spirit of everybody connected with the street-car lines, because they have been continually in politics, in getting that amount reduced. And they have succeeded in getting it reduced to 9 per cent now. It is also supposed to have added to the inadequate emoluments of various public servants a considerable amount. (Laughter.) And it has introduced a most thoroughgoing merit system in the appointment of the conductors and formerly drivers now motormen of the cars. The system being to ask each of them how many votes he has got for gentlemen who will recommend him for appointment. And that system is said to have many advantages for both the corporation and the members of the city council—and of the Legislature at times. I cannot say that I retain altogether, as my friend Mr. Fox says he does, the opinions he formerly had on this subject, for I have not any absolute definite opinion about that. It is gradually coalescing, so to speak. I doubt somewhat whether you can lay down an absolute rule. In fact, I am very strongly inclined to think you must be guided by the particular circumstances of each case.

Baltimore's Experiment.

I was very favorably impressed with one suggestion that was made in the course of the discussion, and that was that these franchises should have no definite length of time, should never be revocable, but should be always purchasable, purchasable at the fair value of the property. Get rid of the idea of trying to get something for less than it is worth. Pay the men on the same principle that you take his property for any other public use. Pay him what it is fairly worth, and then I think it is perfectly safe to require of a public service corporation just what you require of any citizen, that when necessary he must give up his property for the use of the public. The great difficulty about attaining satisfactory results, according to my observation, is to get the right sort of men. When you have such a mayor as they had in one of our cities, as we have heard this morning (applause), you will get satisfactory results.

THE SECRETARY: It was the original thought to have a meeting this afternoon. We have had a very good meeting so far, and as Prof. Rowe

is here and his paper bears on the general subject under discussion, I suggest we have that paper now while the matter is fresh in our minds, and that we leave the afternoon open for reflection and meditation on what has been given to us.

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, it is suggested that Prof. Rowe be assured of a fair field and no favor.

PROFESSOR ROWE: I prefer not to delay the lunch, and will gladly forego the privilege.

THE PRESIDENT: All that would be lost is the opportunity to criticize it, Dr. Rowe. (Laughter.)

PROFESSOR ROWE: I wish to say, to make it very clear at the outset of this paper, that it is not a discussion either for or against municipal ownership and operation. There are, it seems to me, certain valuable, positive and negative opinions to be drawn from foreign experience, and it is with the idea of calling your attention to one or two of the most important problems involved that I would take at least part of your time. With the permission of the Chairman, I will cut out certain portions of the paper which you will be able to read just as well when the proceedings are published.

For further reference to Prof. Rowe's paper see the Table of Contents.

THE SECRETARY: We have two items of business to transact yet. One is to receive and consider the report of the Auditing Committee. The other is to consider a resolution of thanks.

I have also been asked to call attention to the fact that a very interesting situation exists in our Capital City at Washington, where municipal government is carried on, as you know, under a very interesting form.

The Washington Situation.

The Congress of the United States called together to consider grave national questions is, to all intents and purposes, the municipal council of that city, and the citizens of Washington who have no vote can secure improvements only through the votes of Congressmen, who are responsible to the sentiments of their constituents. The members of the National Municipal League are very strongly urged to keep themselves as strongly in touch as possible with the proposed improvements in Washington, so that they can secure votes from their Congressmen on improvements desired there. In all of which, I am glad to say, President Roosevelt is very deeply interested, as well as a number of our members and officers. Our President may wish, as a *quasi* resident of Washington, to endorse these recommendations, because he is under the necessity of living in Washington part of the time.

THE PRESIDENT: I am very happy, ladies and gentlemen, to re-enforce the suggestion, and I will say that I am in favor of a very liberal system of public improvements in Washington, especially those that are connected with a good water supply and good lighting and efficient police and cleanliness. I do not wish at all to see any of this nigardly disposition which

some people are disposed to show toward it. I have not any property in Washington. (Laughter.) And I do not think my taxes of any kind will be either greater or less according to the amount expended there, but I do live there, and that makes me under these circumstances decidedly *quasi*, as Mr. Woodruff puts it—and the *quasi* resident is generally a very public-spirited citizen. (Laughter.)

Remarks by President Bonaparte.

It is, however, a fact that there are some things in the city of Washington which are decidedly discreditable in our national capital. When I went there last summer the water that was supplied to wash in looked like stronger coffee than you generally get at the average hostelry. (Laughter.) And although it must be admitted that it has to some extent lost that characteristic since, it is by no means the limpid stream that we should desire to have it. And there are various matters which, if it were not so late, I could perhaps dwell upon with interest and advantage.

But I must come down from the affairs of the national capital to ask if your Auditing Committee is ready to report on the defalcations it has discovered. (Laughter.)

MR. STURGES: That is the reason, I suppose, that this report is kept till the last. The best things are kept to the end. One thing that has made us willing to be left behind is that we wanted some excuse for remaining for this dinner to-night, a better excuse than our brothers from Lancaster had. I wish the ladies and gentlemen here would realize the fact that this committee, one member at least of which is from a small town, has examined accounts amounting to about $9,000. Think of it, gentlemen! A larger amount than the salary the predecessor of the present Secretary of the Navy (our President) had for a whole year's service! The present Secretary, I am sure, deserves a larger amount, and I hope gets it. (Laughter.) That amount would pay a small family's board for a week at the Waldorf-Astoria or Bellevue-Stratford. So we have approached this thing with a great deal of hesitation and deliberation. We have had session after session—at least our second session came after the first (laughter)—and we have gone over these things very carefully. There are two or three things that perhaps we have no right to inquire into in these bills that we have passed, but we at least would like to make one or two suggestions.

Auditing Report.

A good deal of money has been spent for something called "honorariums." We seem to have bought a good deal of honorariums. (Laughter.) And it is so long since we have studied Latin that I at least do not know whether an honorarium is a new sort of grass seed or a searchlight for the Navy, or the land and naval forces. Notwithstanding that a good many of those bills are receipted by Mr. Woodruff, I want to say that judging from the wonderful results obtained in some of the legislatures, especially that of Pennsylvania, our own state, most unhoped for a

year ago, I would like to have this League buy more honorariums. It is the best investment that we have discovered in these accounts.

We noticed other accounts for railroad fare. Now, knowing that the treasurer of this League is a prominent officer in the Baldwin Locomotive Works, we cannot really approve that expenditure. (Laughter.) Why don't he trot out one of his locomotives and take us around and not pay out money for it. By the way, I want to say one thing that has made our work especially delicate and careful has been the fact that we discovered soon after our appointment that our Treasurer is now on the other side of the water. (Laughter.) There was $275.12 that he was to account for. You can imagine the conscientious care that we have given to our task.

There are two or three other matters of a like kind. Oh! one item I must call attention to. I want to ask a little information about it at the next convention, perhaps. There seems to be a premium paid for New York memberships. (Laughter.) That we could not understand quite. Of course, if they were all brought out of the Tammany circle it would be worth a good deal of money, if not to us, to capture a few of them and get them in here; but why a commission should be paid for New York members and not for Pennsylvania or Baltimore or others we cannot quite understand, and I would like to know about it. Now, if that commission were paid a commission on capturing the ladies, we would approve it heartily.

As an illustration of the tricks of some districts at least in this female suffrage question, you heard the Mayor of my city, Mr. Dimmick, of Scranton, here the other day. Now that he has gone, I will give an illustration from his experience. I would not dare do it if he were here. After his election the man who was named for the most important position under the Mayor was a man named Jayne. He had more political ring influence behind him begging and demanding his appointment than any other candidate. Mr. Dimmick turned him down, and it is said that the reason he was turned down, primarily, was because the Mayor said he would not have any females in his cabinet (laughter), although he spells his name J-a-y-n-e. He said he had been about twenty years under female government, and he had had enough of it.

Gentlemen and ladies: We now have the pleasure of coming down to the least important part of these things and say we have found everything correct and satisfactory, even under these suspicious circumstances.

I just want to call attention to one thing that the President last night brought to our minds. I do not think you ought to expect, in view of what he said here, that men of high standing, such standing as Dr. Hartwell and myself at least, can be expected to give our time for the small remuneration that we receive. (Laughter.) We come right in under the civil service reform rule. I suppose we added up at least eight or ten columns of figures, and as we are neither of us bookkeepers or auditors, it took us some twenty-five or thirty minutes to do it, and if we are appointed again we shall refer the matter to President Bonaparte.

With these desultory and entirely inappropriate remarks, which are made because we do not want to be entirely ignored, I may say I submit this report of Dr. Hartwell and myself. (Applause):

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., *April 27th, 1906.*

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

Gentlemen: The undersigned having been appointed a committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer of the League for the year ending April 1st, 1906, hereby respectfully report:

We have carefully examined the books, accounts and vouchers presented to us, and find duly accredited and receipted vouchers for the amounts claimed as having been paid out in expenses.

Also that the additions as to both receipts and expenses have been correctly made, and that the balance in the hands of the Treasurer, April 1st, 1906, was the sum of $275.12.

Respectfully submitted,

EDW. B. STURGES,
EDWARD M. HARTWELL.

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: Having heard the very clear and accurate description of the contents of this report (laughter) of course, you are now fully aware of the next question, which is, What disposition shall be made of it. I suppose the simplest plan would be to adopt a resolution that it be received and placed on file, and that the question of the further compensation of the Auditing Committee be referred to the President, with the understanding that the compensation come out of his own pocket. (Laughter.)

MR. DE FOREST: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me before this annual meeting adjourns that we have one little act of recognition to consider. I think that after having enjoyed the hospitality of this delightful hotel that we should officially say "Thank you" as gracefully and gratefully as we know how. I therefore offer the following resolution:

Resolution of Thanks.

"*Resolved*, That the National Municipal League hereby extends its hearty and sincere thanks to Mr. Henry W. Leeds, proprietor of the Chalfonte, and to his colleagues, for the cordial welcome and hospitality extended to the members and delegates of the League.

"The Atlantic City meeting of the League will long be remembered for the numerous facilities afforded by our hosts for helpful personal intercourse and exchange of experiences and views; for these opportunities the League is most grateful."

The motion prevailed unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT: The Secretary tells me that he has just one more announcement to make.

THE SECRETARY: Reference has been made at several sessions of the Conference to an Advisory Committee, the object and purpose of which is

indicated by the title. I am glad to say that those whose names appear on this, having been appointed by President Bonaparte some time ago, have all, with one or two exceptions, signified their consent to serve. The Advisory Committee is as follows:

Charles S. DeForest, Chairman, New Haven; Laurence Minot, Boston; Prof. Henry W. Farnam, New Haven; Col. Norris G. Osborn, New Haven; Clarence H. Kelsey, New York City; M. N. Baker, New York City; S. W. Childs, New York City; Rt. Rev. Alex. Mackay-Smith, D. D., Philadelphia; John C. Winston, Philadelphia; Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia; Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, D. D., Philadelphia; Albert E. Turner, Philadelphia; James M. Lamberton, Harrisburg; E. B. Sturges, Scranton; J. Gardner Sanderson, Scranton; Rev. Adolph Roeder, Orange; Farnham Yardley, Orange; Alden Freeman, East Orange; W. F. Kurtz, Wilmington; Rt. Rev. Leighton Coleman, Wilmington; Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, Baltimore; J. M. Lawford, Baltimore; Hon. L. G. Powers, Washington; Hon. Joseph Bryan, Richmond; F. E. Stevens, Cleveland; Francis B. James, Cincinnati; A. Julius Freiberg, Cincinnati; Max B. May, Cincinnati; Harry J. Milligan, Indianapolis; Charles C. Brown, Indianapolis; Dr. Graham Taylor, Chicago; Walter L. Fisher, Chicago; Rt. Rev. G. F. Seymour, Springfield, Ill.; Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, Detroit; Joseph McC. Bell, Milwaukee; Ambrose Tighe, St. Paul; Stiles P. Jones, Minneapolis; John Crosby, Minneapolis; W. S. McCormick, Duluth; Hon. John MacVicar, Des Moines; Mayo Fesler, St. Louis; Isaac H. Lionberger, St. Louis; Joseph N. Fining, St. Louis; Harry T. Kent, St. Louis; Henry D. Ashley, Kansas City, Mo.; L. A. Laughlin, Kansas City, Mo.; Hon. James M. Head, Nashville; Hon. J. M. Barrs, Jacksonville; George R. Brown, Little Rock; Hon. G. W. Brackenridge, San Antonio; Hon. A. W. Terrell, Austin; Lafon Allen, Louisville; Percy N. Booth, Louisville; W. S. Popleton, Omaha; Dr. Victor Rosewater, Omaha; Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, Sioux Falls; Pres. Garrett Droppers, Vermilion, So. Dak.; William Scallon, Butte; Hon. B. B. Lindsey, Denver; Hon. Henry B. Henderson, Cheyenne; Rev. W. G. Eliot, Jr., Portland, Ore.; Joseph N. Teal, Portland, Ore.; Fairfax H. Wheelan, San Francisco; Charles D. Willard, Los Angeles; Erastus Brainerd, Seattle.

THE PRESIDENT: I am informed by the Secretary that the last announcements require no action by the League, unless it should seem proper to some gentleman to present a resolution to the effect that those very inappropriate selections ought now to be affirmed.

There remains, if I am rightly informed, but one more piece of business to be adopted; that is a piece of business which is always in order, but which might be said to be always a necessary evil, and that is a motion for adjournment. I remind those of the League who are on the Executive Committee that they are to meet at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on the library floor. A motion to adjourn is in order.

On motion, the convention adjourned *sine die*.

In accordance with the authority vested in the editor, the following papers presented at the Atlantic City meeting, but not read, are included in the Proceedings as a part of the record:

"Ballot Reform and the Massachusetts Law," by Richard Henry Dana.

"The Galveston Plan," by E. R. Cheeseborough.

"The Assessment of Franchises under the New York Law," by Hon. James G. Cutler.

"Juvenile Civic Activities," by William Chauncey Langdon.

"Logansport's Electric Lighting Plant," by Philip J. Loftus.

"Jacksonville's Experience with Municipal Ownership," by Hon. J. M. Barrs.

"Detroit's Electric Lighting Plant," by Frederick F. Ingram.

"Duluth's Water and Light Plant," by L. M. Case.

"Lincoln's Municipal Ownership Experience," by E. E. Bennett.

For further reference to these papers see the Table of Contents.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE PAPERS READ BEFORE
THE ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

Why We Have Unsatisfactory Public Servants and How We Can Get Good Ones.

By Hon. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, Baltimore,

Secretary of the Navy and President of the National Municipal League.

Four years ago, at the eighth annual meeting of the League, held in Boston, I read a paper entitled, "The Movement for Honest Government." In this paper I said:

"When . . . . we speak of 'pure politics,' we mean politics guided and controlled by sincere, scrupulous and unselfish men; the politics of any community can be 'purified' only by leading such men to engage in them and driving other men out of them; and each of us aids in the 'purifying' process when he tries to render a political career attractive to our best citizens, and does what he can to make the worst gain a living otherwise. . . . . The expediency of inducing the right sort of men to engage in politics is no less generally admitted than that of keeping out the wrong sort, but there is often much confusion of ideas regarding the way to bring about this desired result. . . . . In every other field of labor we obtain the workmen we wish by making their work attractive and profitable; in politics all our laws and customs seem devised to make the occupation distasteful and burdensome to the very people we are all the time urging to take part in it. For a long time it was thought in England that sailors could be obtained for ships of war only by compulsion, and they were impressed with incidents of great hardship and oppression to themselves and great inconvenience and danger to the State: after a while the idea arose that if sailors were as well paid and as well treated on men-of-war as on merchant ships they would be equally ready to serve on the former: the plan was tried and the

Pure Politics.

English pressgang became a matter of history. This may serve as an object-lesson to us: beside trying to drive decent people into politics through a sort of moral pressgang by scolding and bullying and hectoring them for staying out, may it not be well to try to remove those features of politics which make the career, for them, unprofitable and uncongenial?"

During the past ten months I have been led by my surroundings and my duties to consider seriously and frequently why our best men so often shun public life, and especially public service, and the subject appears to me of such grave and urgent import to the people that I venture to ask for it on this occasion the mature consideration of the League.

Reluctance of Reputable Men.

No one with any experience in the dismal labor of trying to persuade reputable and esteemed men to become candidates for elective offices (and I suspect that such experience has been sadly general among those most active in the League's work) will doubt the genuine and profound reluctance of the right man to settle himself into the right place in this field of his duty as a citizen; and, according to my own observation, this reluctance usually, although not always, increases as the prospects of election become brighter: I have found it easier to induce the man in question to run when he knows that his running can amount only to a protest against abuses and scandals or a help to other candidates than when there seems to be some fair show for his election. Moreover, since Fate has, now here, now there, and more and more frequently, imposed on old, chronic "kickers," like the most of the League's veterans, the problems and burdens of public office, those thus punished for their sins find that perhaps the heaviest of the latter, perhaps the most knotty of the former, is to find worthy workmen for the people's work and to keep them at such work when found.

Why, then, do really first-class men, as a rule, shun public employment in its higher grades, and too often oblige their city, state or nation to be content with the second-class, if, indeed, even these can be secured and our public trusts are not abandoned to the clearly unfit? First, because public offices of great responsibility are generally and grossly underpaid. My immediate

predecessor in the one I hold received $8,000 *per annum;* he now serves a great corporation and receives $80,000. The Attorney-General also has $8,000 annually: in any case of sufficient importance for him to try it, the fees of counsel opposed to him will, nine times out of ten, equal or exceed his entire yearly salary. The Secretary of the Treasury is compensated with the like liberality; he must deal with and contend against financiers who count that day lost in which but $8,000 has been added to their wealth. I give instances from the Federal service because, for the moment, these occur more readily to my mind, but what I say of them is no less clearly true of substantially all public offices demanding high moral and exceptional intellectual qualities in their holders, or, in other words, of all offices which, if they are to be well filled, must be filled by first-class men. When our public servants are matched against the servants of huge corporations or individuals of vast wealth, we are disgusted and alarmed to find them outclassed: a very little thought should serve to show that the trusts and the multimillionaires get what they pay for, and we get what we pay for likewise; the only difference is that they are sufficiently sensible to know they must pay out what they want in worth in order to get it; and we are sufficiently silly to think we can get what we want without paying its fair value, or, if we don't think this, to act as if we did.

Great Responsibility Grossly Underpaid.

It is an interesting question why we should be thus widely and obstinately blind to our own obvious interest, an interest shown by facts which, as the French say, "leap into one's eyes." The American people cannot be justly called "stingy;" for manual or merely routine public work we pay as liberally as any nation in the world; at all events, I know of none more generous. Why are we unable or unwilling to act on the same principles of common sense when we deal with those of our servants who are also our rulers? I believe this anomaly to be the resultant of two popular prejudices which arise from diametrically opposite, but equally erroneous, views, and which, curiously enough in this instance, lead to the same practical conclusion.

Of these, the first is a diluted and partially sterilized form of a virulent and deadly social and political poison; namely, the

The Precise Equality of Men.

doctrine that all men of right ought to be, and should therefore be made and kept, precisely equal. This doctrine is really a wholly arbitrary dogma, a pure assumption, justified neither by reason nor by history, and, in fact, contradicted by the daily experience of all mankind; but it was so earnestly and so widely preached by the precursors and apostles of the French Revolution, and has so gravely affected legislation, custom and public opinion wherever the influence of the Revolution extends, that to question its truth even now seems, to a certain class of thinkers and teachers, little short of blasphemy. In its original and salutary form, as it found echo in our Declaration of Independence, the cry for "equality" was coupled with one for "liberty," and in this company it amounted to a protest against arbitrary and oppressive privileges, against distinctions justified by no material difference, to a demand that the law give every man a fair field and no favor. But it was quickly seen that to make men more free would make them less nearly equal; that the fairer their start the more quickly and surely some would come to the front and others fall behind; that, in short, if "equality" had the meaning which leaders in Revolutionary thought more and more inclined to give it, "equality" was inconsistent with "liberty," and they must choose between them: they recognized, in fact, though not in words, this necessity and gave up liberty.

Now, when the Roman jurisconsults declared, *Omnes homines natura aequales sunt*, they asserted this, not as a statement of fact, but as a maxim of jurisprudence; just as our Courts of Chancery say now: "Equity considers that done which ought to have been done;" were this done in fact, there would be no need for Courts of Equity or for courts of any kind. French publicists and politicians, however, accepted this old maxim of Roman equity as substantially an article of religious faith, and, since, understood literally, it is transparently false, for men are by nature notoriously *unequal* in strength, courage, energy, foresight and self-restraint, and as from these inequalities naturally flow inequalities in their wealth, eminence and happiness, the more extreme among these writers were led to declare it the state's duty to redress the inequalities of nature; an idea expressed by Louis

Blanc when he said that, if a man were so strong and so industrious that he could and would do as much work as four others, such a man should be held a public enemy.

If we constantly repeat to ourselves and to others, in thought no less than in word, that something is true which all the time we know is not true, we are very apt to develop an uneasy belief that, in some sense, it ought to be true, and that, in some measure, the times are out of joint because it isn't. Americans half consciously feel that to recognize fundamental differences of value in the services of different classes of their public servants by awarding these widely different rates of compensation is, in some sort, contrary to the eternal fitness of things and, in so far as tolerated at all, such diversity of treatment should be reduced to the irreducible minimum. That the head of a department should get twice, five times, even ten times the pay of an $800 clerk is bad enough; a suggestion that he be paid twenty-five or fifty or one hundred times as much is too harsh a shock to our carefully cultivated belief in the essential equity of equality. We act, it is true, upon a totally different principle in our private business; everybody knows that the services of one lawyer or one surgeon or one artist may well be cheap at five thousand dollars, when it would be simple folly to employ another lawyer, another surgeon, another artist to do the same work for fifty. But we know this, and act on the knowledge, because in our private business self-interest fortifies our common sense, while in our affairs as citizens we obstinately tell ourselves the same token ought to balance the scales against a handful of lead and against a handful of feathers, and if the facts contradict our sacrocanct theories, then, as the French *savant* told Franklin, "the facts ought to be ashamed of themselves," and we should treat them with merited disdain.

Private Business and Common Sense.

The second popular prejudice to which I have referred is the fruit of a theory of government, as nearly as possible, the very opposite of that underlying the first; although singularly enough in the present case, it leads to the same conclusion. According to this school of thought, but one question need be asked about a candidate for political office or an aspirant for political power,

namely, "Is he the man best fitted to govern in the public interest?" In this view it is quite irrelevant whether he will rule as the people may wish to be ruled? the material inquiry is whether he will rule well, the underlying assumption of the theory being that the strong, brave and wise have a "divine right" to govern the weak, timid or foolish without any regard to the relative numbers of the two classes. An attempt to apply this doctrine to the political institutions of a democracy leads to the growth of customs and to enactments of positive law which, although often professedly designed for other purposes, are really intended to discourage the choice by the people of unsuitable rulers by attaching such incidents to high public office that the class of citizens it is deemed wise to exclude will not seek or cannot hold it.

Fitness to Govern.

As nearly as human weakness may permit, a good public officer must be proof against temptation by money; and to this end it were well that he be rich, for, in Franklin's shrewd words, "it is hard for an empty bag to stand upright." In accordance with the theory I have mentioned, it has been therefore the aim of constitutional legislation in many states, both of ancient and modern times, to exclude poor men from public office, not, indeed, avowedly, but by making the conditions of public service intolerable for them. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this policy was afforded by the later Roman republic. There no citizen was eligible for one of the higher magistracies unless he had held previously and in regular succession all of inferior rank; all these offices were, in theory at least, gratuitous, and in one of the earlier in the series a custom of long standing obliged the incumbent to incur enormous expense by furnishing to the people vast and costly entertainments, for which he had to pay out of his own pocket. On the same principle, in England the national legislature serves without pay: when workingmen were first elected to Parliament they had to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their fellow-workmen.

The theory to which I have alluded has never been recognized as sound, either ethically or politically, by the American people; a "square deal" for every one, rich or poor, has always been demanded by our national conscience, and we know enough his-

tory to distrust the safeguards to honesty afforded by a system which, at Rome, left room for perhaps the most gigantic and iniquitous exhibition of "graft" the world has known, and in England allowed and aided Walpole and his methods to flourish. But here again we have been, more or less consciously, influenced by doctrines we disbelieved, and we sometimes act as if we thought a man whose only capital is the labor of his brain could better afford to serve us for less than nothing than could a man whose only capital is the labor of his hands. I say "less than nothing" advisedly: there are to-day positions of great prominence, at least in our Federal service, for which, as at Rome, a property qualification, unknown to the law, has been established by custom and poor pay, since only a man of independent means can fill one of them and do what he must do to fill it acceptably.

The "Square Deal."

If in filling our places of highest public trust we so often find mediocrity or worse where the best were none too good for the work, let us ask ourselves candidly before we complain if, in truth, we get less than our money's worth? Let us ask if it be just or sensible or worthy of a great, free, enlightened nation, with the history of mankind as its guide and mentor, to expect first-class goods at second-class prices? And if to this question we answer, "No," as we must and will if we are honest to ourselves and not afraid to think the truth, then let us own frankly that the first step toward the needed reform will be to recognize the laborer as worthy of his hire, be that hire much or little, to see that if a city or state or nation would get and keep a man worth in the market ten or twenty or fifty thousand dollars per year, that city, state or nation should be willing to pay him ten, twenty or fifty as readily as when it needs a man worth one or two or five thousand it pays him one or two or five.

The problem of good public service in the higher grades is not, however, a question of salary alone: men may be paid for such work otherwise than with money, and no matter what they are paid, still those best fitted for it will not do it, or do it long, unless the conditions of their work allow them to work happily and with self-respect. The American people as a would-be

The American People as Employers.

Practical Progress.

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, of Philadelphia,
Secretary of the National Municipal League.

In the light of the events of the past year Americans can no longer be justly charged with indifference to municipal problems and their solution. Since 1894 it has been my duty to review the municipal events of the preceding year. At each meeting I have been able to report some advances, some encouraging developments; but the past twelve months have outstripped all others in practical progress. Indeed, they represent more substantial achievements than all the preceding years together. From every quarter comes word as to awakened interest and patriotic endeavor. Heroism, heretofore largely an incident of military activity, is now in large degree manifested in civic endeavor.

Distinguished Examples.

Secretary Root's letter to Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia, written after the former had accepted the State portfolio, in which he denounced the criminal combination masquerading under the Republican name as constituted of traitors alike to the great party whose name they had filched and to the interests of the community; the address of Secretary Taft in the Ohio campaign in which he declared that were he to vote in Cincinnati he would vote against the ticket nominated by the Republican boss there; the independent attitude of Secretary Bonaparte in the Maryland campaign; the conspicuous position taken by former Postmaster-General Smith in the Philadelphia revolution; the eminent public services of former foreign ministers Wayne MacVeagh and William Potter in the same connection—all have tended to reinforce the contention so long maintained and insisted upon by the National Municipal League that national parties and national questions

have no proper connection with the determination of local issues.

The longer one studies the returns from the elections held on November 7, 1905, the more one is forced to the conviction (as has been pointed out by more than one editor) that local conditions were in the main the determining factor in them. Seldom if ever "have national policies and politics been so little in evidence in the press and platform discussions, and of so little weight in arriving at a choice of candidates."

This disregard of party lines in local elections and the independent spirit manifested by the electors in their choice of candidates, constitute the most significant developments of the past year and indicate clearly the growth of public sentiment along these lines.

Ballot Power.

The people, as never before, have come to a realization of their "ballot power." It did seem in many instances as if they were helpless; they certainly were in many places hopeless; but in communities like Philadelphia and Cincinnati the people awakened not only to their responsibility, but to their power to effect substantial and satisfactory results.

If they continue alive to the potency of their ballot power and form the habit of persistently applying that power intelligently to local situations, the results are bound to be far-reaching. There must be no loose optimism, none of the spirit with which Francois declared: "Courage, my friend, the devil is dead!" because such an attitude will lull the most potent force to sleep. The devil in municipal politics is not dead, but more alive than ever, because his supremacy is so seriously threatened. Municipal government in this day and generation is no child's play, no summer day's campaign. It is a serious warfare—a conflict with far-reaching lines and involving stakes of tremendous value. One who enters lightly into the work of reforming existing conditions in our municipalities has no easy task before him. He will be beset on every side by temptations and discouragements; but if he will always bear in mind that in any community, at any given time, the people are more powerful than any combination of corrupt plotters and conspirators, if they only stand together

employer of this class of labor approaches a highly skilled workman of wide repute, assured at all times of steady work at good wages, and says to him, speaking by its acts: "Come and work for me; if you come, I shall probably take away your job at just about the time you have learned to take interest in it and to do it to your own satisfaction. Meantime I shall let others of my workmen, whose help is indispensable to your work, constantly hinder it and embarrass you by all sorts of gratuitous annoyances, not necessarily because they have any quarrel with you, but often as incidents to squabbles among themselves or to attain ends of their own with which you have no concern. I shall also permit, indeed I shall encourage, some of your fellow-workmen, and outsiders as well, to frequently and publicly censure you and your work, and often to do this not only harshly and uncharitably, but ignorantly and in bad faith, without knowing what you have really done and without wishing or trying to know this. Often, moreover, while you are at your work-bench, a crowd of silly and badly-behaved urchins will hoot and make faces at you and draw on the walls nonsensical pictures intended to wound your feelings and make you ridiculous, and I shall tolerate, and even applaud, their antics. Finally, if you shall stay with me far longer than do most of my workmen and, by reason of this long and faithful service, can no longer work hard or find work readily when I have done with you, I will show you the door with no mark of gratitude for the past and no provision against want for the future." Is it likely that a private employer who talked thus and whose acts squared with his words would get such a workman? And if it isn't, why should one of our cities or one of our states or the nation hope to do better? It is the obvious dictate of common sense that, to get good servants, not only must we give them fair wages, but we must treat them as decent, reputable people expect to be treated, must help them to work cheerfully and to good purpose.

This is yet more clearly shown by experience, not only by the experience of all other employers of labor, but by the experience of our government itself. There are two classes of our public servants who are treated, in the main, as all servants must be treated by a master who would be well served: I mean our

judges and the officers of our army and navy. We behave to a judge, we behave to a military or naval officer as if we expected to find him a man of honor; and, in no small measure as a result of this treatment, with lamentable but comparatively rare exceptions, we do find him a man of honor. We safeguard our soldiers and sailors against an old age of misery, and men of the highest character and capacity willingly relinquish the hope of wealth and the independence of civil life to thus serve us. Although as yet a like provision for our judges is scandalously far from universal, and although their salaries amount hardly to a living wage, we yet find men worthy of the Bench to give up for it all the great possibilities of our Bar. Our courts and our army and navy are indeed far from perfect; neither is our treatment of those who preside in the former or who command the latter in all respects just to them or worthy of us; but, speaking broadly, we deal with these men as though we wished the best men for our service, and, again speaking broadly, we obtain for our service the best men to be obtained for our outlay; indeed it were safe to say far better men than the like salaries command elsewhere.

The Military and Naval Services.

Now we can as readily get good civil servants as we can get good military servants; we can obtain legislative and executive officers of as high grade as are our judicial officers, or even as these ought to be; but to gather the same harvest we must sow the same seed and use the same husbandry. Until we do this—in other words, until we have the sense and courage to see things as they are and be guided by this sight—it ill becomes us to murmur when we reap only tares and cockle. A free people has always as good a government as it deserves: if its rulers are unworthy, it has shirked the duties and the burdens of freemen.

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and work harmoniously and persistently for a given end, there need be no fear of the outcome.

The New York and Philadelphia campaigns in November occupied by far the larger degree of public attention throughout the country, not only because of the issues involved, but because of their picturesque elements. The candidacy of District-Attorney Jerome, practically on his own motion and without the support of any organized political body other than that afforded him by the Citizens' Union, which had no other candidate in the field and no other part in the campaign, is unique in the annals of American Municipal history.

At a time when the elections seemed to be a foregone conclusion and when successful opposition to the will of the bosses of the Democratic and Republican machines seemed to be hopeless,

Jerome Campaign.

District-Attorney Jerome, who had been denied a nomination alike by the Democrats, the Republicans and the Municipal Ownership parties, determined to give to the voters of New York County an opportunity to express their wishes as to whether or not he should be accorded another term.

He frankly declared: "I desire to serve another term as district-attorney of New York County. I have served in this office for three and one-half years as faithfully as I knew how. I believe I have served efficiently. I know I have served honestly. I do not claim that I have not made mistakes. A man can insure his integrity, but not the infallibility of his judgment. I am not now, never have been, a member of any political organization, although a Democrat in national politics. It seems to me that the issues which divide the people in national political affairs have no real application to the questions which arise in state or local affairs. It seems to me that one of the greatest evils of the present time is that small groups of men have, and not infrequently a single man has, obtained control of the executive machinery of the party organization and nominating conventions and stand between the public servant and the voters. . . . . In the exercise of their power such men and groups of men are wholly selfish and almost entirely irresponsible, and not infrequently corrupt. A man who works with such a group and re-

ceives favor at their hands comes under implicit obligations which cannot honorably be disregarded. He cannot take office by their favor and still be free to deal with them and their demands as obedience to his oath of office requires."

The campaign which ensued was spectacular and full of surprises. It must be noted in all fairness that while the re-election of Mr. Jerome was made without any formal party endorsement, he did have the Citizens' Union back of him. The campaign of Mr. Hearst on the Municipal Ownership ticket was equally spectacular, and in spite of unpleasant stories widely circulated and generally believed, the enthusiasm for him was evidently due to the sincere and earnest belief on the part of many thousands of voters that neither of the old national parties could be trusted to protect the city's interests in the face of the inducements offered to the leaders of those parties by large public corporations. The protest voiced by the vote for Mr. Hearst is encouraging, in that it gives assurance of the honesty, if not the wisdom, of the mass of the voters of the city. Mr. Hearst had a less complete organization than Mr. Jerome and was obliged to cover the entire city of Greater New York instead of but one county.

The Hearst Campaign.

The proceedings on election day were most discreditable, according to the testimony of competent observers, and the arrests and convictions secured are said to give an inadequate idea of the amount of fraud at the polls. It is quite generally believed that if the ballot-boxes were opened it would disclose that Mr. Hearst was elected. We have, therefore, the remarkable situation of having in the mayor's chair for four years a man who was very far from receiving a majority of the votes cast and whose plurality on the face of the returns would probably not stand the verification of a recount. The fact that the people of Greater New York have quietly acquiesced in this paradoxical result speaks volumes for their spirit of obedience to the spirit and the letter of the law.

For eleven months * Philadelphia has been the scene of one of the most spectacular, far-reaching and significant municipal revo-

* This was written in April, 1906.

lutions witnessed in any American city. After years of misgovernment and mismanagement and a degree of corruption which astounded even those fairly familiar with the situation, Mayor Weaver, who had been elected on the Republican ticket with an independent endorsement, not only broke the shackles which had held him to the Republican organization, but inaugurated a campaign which broke up the organization. The immediate cause of his break was the introduction of an ordinance providing for the extension of the existing lease of the gas works for seventy-five years in consideration of a lump payment of $25,000,000 notwithstanding the fact that the present lease (which had about twenty-two years to run) would yield the city something over $37,000,000 before its expiration. Mayor Weaver inaugurated his campaign for municipal freedom and decenter methods by dismissing his recalcitrant directors of public works and public safety and appointing in their place two tried and true men who were loyal to the city's best interests and to Mayor Weaver's effort to redeem the municipality.

The Philadelphia Revolution.

The details of the revolution have been given such wide publicity that I shall refer only to the more significant.

The summary removal of the two directors resulted in their making a desperate effort to retain control of their offices; but the attitude of Mayor Weaver and his counsel, backed up as it was so strongly and unanimously by the people of the city, irrespective of party, race or creed, was such that they very shortly retired from the contest. The mayor's veto of the gas lease was sustained; the appointment of Messrs. Acker and Potter confirmed; certain ordinances which had been contemptously passed over the mayor's veto to show the "Organization's" contempt of him and their control over councils were repealed; and then a series of administrative reforms of far-reaching importance and significance was inaugurated.

Wholesale Removals.

Director Potter began and completed the purging of the registration lists of 75,000 fraudulent names. The work on the filtration plant was investigated to determine the extent of the corruption. While the prosecutions growing out of this investi-

gation resulted in the acquittal of the defendants, the trials disclosed the methods that had been pursued in defrauding the city of vast sums of money, estimated to be upwards of $5,000,000. Suits in equity have been begun, having for their object the recovery of these sums and a thorough judicial inquiry into, and investigation of, all the facts of the case. Because of a conflict of opinion between the mayor's counsel and the district-attorney, the criminal prosecution of the principals in the firm having the construction of the plant in charge has not been undertaken, although the public is convinced of their guilty complicity.

For the first time in many years the police of the city and the full power of the administration were exercised in behalf of a fair election. As a consequence, when the campaign of November was closed it resulted in an overwhelming victory for the City Party ticket, representing the administration and the people.

City Party Campaigns.

Following this campaign another was inaugurated, the prospects concerning which were by no means bright. There was a general feeling that there would be a reaction; various disputes had grown up in the ranks of those who had supported the administration; efforts were made to divert the attention of the public from the issues involved; and there was a general feeling that the results in the November election were due to a spasm of public virtue. Moreover, there was no contest over the city offices, because there were only two candidates, both sure of election of the law. In many wards there were no candidates except for school directors and election officers. Notwithstanding all these apparent discouragements the people quietly and irrespective of the conflicting claims of rival leaders went to the polls and registered another substantial majority in favor of a new order of affairs. The February, 1906, election is generally regarded as having far more significance than that of November because of the facts already cited. It disclosed how deeply the movement for reform had taken hold of the voters and how completely determined they were to establish a new and better order of things.

There is one incident of the Philadelphia revolution which must not be overlooked and cannot be too strongly emphasized.

Immediately after the November election Governor Pennypacker called the Pennsylvania legislature together in extraordinary session to consider those questions which they had neglected to consider at the regular session and which had formed so large a part of the discussion in the campaign. Personal registration, primary reform, state treasury reform, reapportionment, civil service reform and the corrupt use of money in politics were included in the call. When the session met in January, 1906, it proceeded to a consideration of carefully prepared bills designed to give body to the governor's recommendations. When the session adjourned on February 15 it had passed all of these bills, with the single exception of the state civil service reform measure, in a form on the whole satisfactory to those who for many years past have been advocating legislation on these subjects. If the revolution of 1905 had had no other outcome, the action of the special session of the legislature would have distinctly made it worth while and justified all the energy and time and service expended.*

Women and Municipal Reform.

An interesting feature of the February election was the choice of forty women to serve on the school board. Heretofore but very few have been able to secure election; but thanks to the changed attitude of the voters, it was felt to be good policy to place on the tickets capable women to look after the welfare of the children in the public schools; and in this connection, testimony must be borne to the efficient aid given to the independent forces, both in Philadelphia and in New York, by the women of the two cities. The zeal and earnestness contributed by the mothers, wives and sweethearts of the Weaver and Jerome supporters contributed largely not only to arousing enthusiasm, but to bringing the issue home directly and permanently to many an indifferent voter. I think it is generally conceded that the women are entitled to a very considerable share of the credit for the successful outcome in these two cities.

The influence of the November election in Philadelphia was

* For further details of some important features in the Philadelphia fight see the paper of Thomas Raeburn White in this volume.

largely felt in the February elections in other parts of Pennsylvania. George W. Guthrie, for many years a stalwart worker in the ranks of municipal reform, was elected by a substantial majority as the representative of the independent forces to be mayor of Pittsburg. The selection of a man like Mr. Guthrie is a matter of great import, not only to his own city, but to the cause of municipal regeneration throughout the country. Able, fearless, competent, public-spirited, with a high regard for the opportunities and responsibilities of his position, he is destined to give to the city of Pittsburg an administration which will be an example for other communities to follow.

Pittsburg.

The political situation in Scranton, Pennsylvania, in the past year has been somewhat different from that of many other places. The efforts of the Municipal League of Scranton have so greatly changed conditions that the city has of late been singularly free from the various "fashionable" forms of municpal corruption. Since the eighteen councilmen were prosecuted by the League a few years ago boodling in the councils and other public bodies, if practiced at all, has been exceedingly rare, and limited in scope and most carefully concealed. Wherever a serpent head has appeared the League has promptly hit it, and several officials have been domiciled for a considerable period in the state penitentiary.

Scranton, Pa.

This being the condition of affairs it did not seem necessary or wise at the February election to put into the field a reform ticket; but those who had been most active in the Municipal League work, and others of like sentiments, initiated a movement that resulted in the nomination and election of a man (J. Benjamin Dimmick) who promises to be, to quote a local correspondent, "head and shoulders above any mayor or recorder that the city has ever had." The only criticism that has been offered to Mayor Dimmick's election is that he is a Republican mayor without a Republican organization behind him, and that he is attempting to operate the city government and improve existing conditions with untried men and without any political machine to back him.

The experiment will be watched, not only in Scranton but

throughout the State, with great interest. Mayor Guthrie of Pittsburg is in a somewhat similar condition, for the majority in both branches of council is of an opposite political faith; but he has met the situation with his usual ability and perspicacity by declaring that the council would certainly be with him and support his measures because he would ask nothing but that which was in the public's interest; and as they had declared that they were serving in the public's interest, the conclusion was irresistible that they would of necessity support his measures!

Mayor Cutler of Rochester.

The re-election of Mayor Cutler in Rochester was a well-deserved tribute to a faithful official who had administered his office with an eye single to the best interests of the community and without reference to political considerations. Although maintaining friendly relations with the Republican organization, he was in no sense an organization man, and his re-election was a triumph of decency and independence, although Rochester is normally a Republican city.

Buffalo.

Buffalo, in national politics Republican, elected a Democrat to the mayoralty chair because of his known fitness for the office. The majority for Mayor Adam, who had served efficiently in the board of aldermen, was so large that it carried his whole party ticket, and so displaced the existing Republican régimé. Mayor Adam has achieved a reputation for opposition to corruption and extravagance, and unquestionably represents the desire of Buffalo to administer its municipal affairs without regard to national parties or politics. At the same election which resulted in Mayor Adam's election, the city voted in favor of owning and operating an electric lighting and power plant. An interesting feature of the election was, that out of a total vote of 65,000 for the mayoralty candidates only 9,641 votes were cast on the last-mentioned proposition: 7,691 being in the affirmative, 1,950 in the negative. The reasons assigned for the smallness of the vote was the absorbing interest in the mayoralty contest; the consequent splitting of tickets; the obscure position of the question on the voting machines, coming below not only the names of the candidates but of seven constitutional amendments; and the limited time of one minute in which to vote the whole.

New Jersey's Advances.

In New Jersey the significant events of the past year were the campaign of Everett Colby for the State Senate on local issues and the re-election of Mayor Fagan of Jersey City. Senator Colby made his fight within the Republican party, and at a direct primary overwhelmed the forces of the boss. The district being a strongly Republican one, his election was a foregone conclusion, but he received a record-breaking majority at the general election.

For years Jersey City has been normally Democratic; but Mayor Fagan, a Republican, has been three times chosen to the mayoralty; and he owes his latest re-election to his independent action, he having openly defied the party bosses upon both sides, although he received the formal nomination of the Republican convention. His appeal, made directly to the people, was based on freedom from boss rule, equal taxation of railroad companies with that of real estate owners, and limited franchises—it being substantially the same platform as that upon which Senator Colby had won out at the Republican primaries in his district, the Jersey City movement being in many respects similar to the Colby movement in Essex County.

Mayor Fagan's administration has been popular, and the people believe him to be sincere in his efforts to secure a juster system of taxation and a better administration generally. While there has been no distinct movement in favor of a reorganization of the system of administration as would be likely to secure permanently better conditions, there can be no doubt that the interest in municipal reform is gradually spreading in the minds of the people of the city. One of the chief indications of this is the disposition to vote independently of party organizations.

A determined effort is being made in Delaware to eliminate bribery at elections. Public-spirited citizens of that State are making a heroic effort to eradicate the venal marketing of votes through the organization of an Anti-Bribery League. It has for its object the general prosecution of election frauds, the amendment of existing laws and the constitution, to wipe out provisions like those requiring a registration fee of one dollar and the appointment of "voters' assistants," which make bribery easy of safe and successful accomplishment. Moreover, the governor

has been requested by resolution not to appoint "voters' assistants" at the next or any future election in the State unless, upon the opinion and advice of the judiciary, he shall find it incumbent upon him to appoint them. The league is well officered, and will be backed by ample funds. Its plan of campaign will be close investigation and vigorous prosecution.

Cincinnati's Campaign.

Next in importance to the Philadelphia and New York campaigns of November was that successfully waged against Boss Cox in Cincinnati; indeed, there are many who believe that the Cincinnati victory was of greater importance, in that it was accomplished without any of the sensational or dramatic features that characterized those of Philadelphia and New York. The people, after a direct and forceful presentation of the facts, awoke from their apathy, went to the polls and defeated the machine's candidates. The fight against the Republican machine, of course, was greatly helped by Secretary Taft's Akron speech (already referred to), in which he announced that he would support the Republican state ticket, but if he were voting in Cincinnati he would vote against the local Republican ticket. The success of the opposition to Cox and his candidates was largely due to the work of the local reform organization known as the Citizens' Municipal Party and to the Honest Elections Committee. The detectives of the latter disclosed the existence of a widespread conspiracy to defraud the people by false registration, and in many other ways assisted in detecting and preventing fraud upon the ballot.*

Credit must be given for a large share of the result in Cincinnati to the educational work done by the "Citizens' Bulletin," carried on for some years in behalf of the cause of municipal reform by Elliott H. Pendleton, Esq., often under the most discouraging circumstances, a large part of the time single-handed, and with little or no encouragement except from his own small group of friends and supporters. The results indicate, however, the wisdom of unremitting energy and endeavor persistently applied. Had Mr. Pendleton and his band of fellow-workers given

*For further reference to the Cincinnati situation see the paper of A. Julius Freiberg in this volume.

up at any point of the fight, they would have unquestionably postponed the day of reckoning for the machine for many months, possibly years. While it is true he and they scarcely expected a victory so soon, that in no way lessens the important part which they have played in making it possible. The whole Cincinnati experience is one worthy of very careful study, especially by those who are now working in other communities under what appear to be hopeless and discouraging conditions.

Cleveland.

While Cleveland still retains its character as a Republican city, Tom L. Johnson has been elected mayor for a third term. This is the first time a mayor has ever been elected in Cleveland for three terms, and his majority (12,000) is the largest ever given here and about twice the majority secured by him in his previous campaigns. With the mayor were elected other members of the city administration in substantial agreement with his general policies of administration and with his views in regard to lower charges and higher taxes on municipal monopolies, with eventual municipal ownership.

For the first time the Municipal Association of Cleveland endorsed Mayor Johnson. Lincoln Steffens had described him as the best mayor in the United States, and the Association in a formal bulletin declared: "The Association has not heretofore supported Mayor Johnson because it was not at one time convinced of the sincerity of his expressed purpose to give Cleveland a clean, progressive administration.

Tom Johnson's Administration.

"His administration has, however, demonstrated the sincerity of his statements. The character of service rendered and of officials responsible for this service have been placed upon a higher plane than at any time in the history of our city. His administration has been business-like, free from graft, and such as to give our city a noteworthy position when compared with other municipalities in this country. The political organization created and maintained by him must be judged by the results of its activity. These have not been graft and corruption, but, as recognized by all observing citizens, the placing in office of clean, competent and honorable officials. While the Association does not wish to be understood as in any way committing itself to Mr. Johnson's economic views,

we believe that his administration deserves commendation and we recommend him for re-election."

This declaration of the Municipal Association represents very generally the sentiment of observers concerning Mayor Johnson. He has been in office sufficiently long to show the manner of man he is and the sincerity of his views. In the face of a very general doubt upon the subject he has convinced friends and neutrals, and quite often enemies, of his entire sincerity and of his ambition to give the people of Cleveland an honest and an efficient government; and there are strong indications that it is not a case of spasmodic reform, but that the advances made since he began his work represent a steady growth in civic righteousness. It is an encouraging feature that in this work he has had the support of the voters of the city to an increasing degree.

Toledo.

Toledo has elected another non-partisan mayor in the person of Brand Whitlock, and has given him what it failed to give the late Mayor Jones—substantial support through the election of sympathetic candidates to the local council. As one correspondent has described the situation: "The local spasms for reform which we have had in the past were of a different quality than the advance all along the line which we have recently had. 'No step backward from this' has become a deep conviction and determination."

Indiana.

The past year has afforded the first experience of Indiana cities (outside of Indianapolis) with a new municipal code, introducing the federal plan. This change has been marked by an extraordinary awakening of interest in municipal affairs and reform throughout the State. Communities wholly given over to the lowest forms of machine politics and corrupt government have developed a new form of public opinion in the belief that it would find an effective instrument in the new kind of government.

Reform clubs have been organized in many of these cities. A notable illustration is the city of Terre Haute, long given over to lawlessness and corruption. The particular issue was law enforcement. The mayor was shown to have instructed his police board to permit law violations, and on its refusal, to have removed the board from office. An organization of business men was

formed and eminent counsel employed to impeach the mayor. The impeachment provisions were new for every city but Indianapolis. A notable trial was held and public feeling aroused to a high pitch. The result of the trial was that the requisite two-thirds vote for the removal of the mayor fell short by one vote. Such a close call has not only affected this particular mayor, but awakened a general interest in civic affairs.

Another subject which has aroused public interest has been the misuse of public funds by officers charged with their collection or custody. Officials have been accustomed to lend or otherwise use public funds, appropriating the interest or earnings to themselves. Governor Hanly has astonished his partisan friends by showing the spirit of a zealous reformer. He appealed to public opinion throughout the State to abolish this abuse, and set the pace by investigating the accounts of state officers. In a short time he forced the auditor of state and the secretary of state to resign their offices; the former, an influential politician, was indicted for embezzlement and has been found guilty. The result is that city and county affairs are everywhere being investigated, with prospects that the movement will crystallize in some permanent reform. In Indianapolis the reformers were defeated at the polls in the election of mayor, but their defeat was not disheartening, the normal Republican majority of 12,000 being cut down to some 1,500. On the whole, as one observer puts it, "it has been a good year for reform in Indiana."

Chicago continues to attract a large share of public attention. Its municipal experiences have been varied and illuminating. It is difficult to form a positive conclusion as to the meaning of many of the things that have been done there. I doubt if I can do better, in a review such as this, than to quote two interesting and significant letters recently received: one from a supporter of Mayor Dunne, interpreting the recent events in the light of that sympathy; the other from an opponent of Mayor Dunne, because he represents the principle of municipal ownership of public service utilities.

Chicago.

To quote first from Mayor Dunne's supporter:

"We are in the heat of a fight which strikes through the super-

ficial layers of municipal good government sentiment and touches those deeper questions that are full of sensitive nerves of tremendous voltage—pocket nerves, political nerves, church nerves, society nerves, etc. The good government forces are consequently divided and working at cross purposes. This makes anything of importance I may tell you, of doubtful advantage for your use in an official report to the National Municipal League. It is open also to criticism as coming from a partisan, to which my only reply is that the other fellow's another (whoever he may be), his view of the matter being open to the same criticism.

Dunne's Administration.

The kernel of municipal politics in Chicago, as I see it, is the question of municipal ownership, with especial reference to street-car service. This is the kernel question not alone because as matter of political theory the farming out of public functions, such as street monopolies, produces most of the more superficial evils of city government, such as job-grafting; it is the kernel question also as a political fact.

Since the first referendum vote on this question, taken in 1904, with the result of revealing 120,744 voters for, and only 50,893 against immediate steps for municipal ownership, this has been the dominant local issue. From that time until the election of Mayor Dunne a year ago, many efforts were made to side-track the issue in the interest of public service corporations, but they were of trifling magnitude in comparison with what has been done since.

The Strike of 1905.

Mayor Dunne came into office to face one of the most exasperating strikes in the history of the city. As it was a teamsters' strike, all the streets of the city, from the Loop to the Limits, were possible battle-grounds. This strike began less than a week before his inauguration. All the circumstances indicate that it was precipitated for his express benefit as one method of distracting public sentiment. By this I do not mean that there was any formal conspiracy. What I mean is that certain labor conditions—a moribund strike; a politico-labor gang with ramifications in labor organizations, business organizations and political rings—were taken advantage of to throw the city into confusion. The strike itself was, doubtless, on the whole as genuine as it was foolish on both sides; but the influences that started and frequently renewed it were neither genuine nor foolish. Several times the persons in conflict were on the point of settlement; but each time mysterious influences stirred them up to further fighting.

When this diversion had finally worn itself out, and Dunne's

labor following had been duly prejudiced against him for his maintenance of order, and the business men had been strengthened in their hostility by his refusal to call for troops, he got down to the work for which he had been elected—immediate proceedings to establish a municipal street-car system. To pool the differences he proposed and presented to the Council carefully drawn plans for a trustee corporation. This corporation was to receive a franchise, proceed at once to construct and operate (under control of the Council), to maintain a sinking fund, and to turn over to the city upon demand in consideration of actual reimbursement with interest (the sinking fund to be part of the reimbursing fund). Instead of fairly considering this plan, the good government press and leaders, so-called, either remained silent or engaged actively in prejudicing Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership following by pretenses that his plan—the "contract plan," so-called—was not a municipal ownership plan but was a corporation franchise plan. In the resulting confusion the aldermen, who had all along favored a compromise extension of franchises, and who were in a majority on the appropriate Council Committee, prevented any consideration of Mayor Dunne's plan, and turned the committee over to the lawyers for the traction companies, asking them what they wanted and compromising upon what they demanded. When the committee had "framed up" an ordinance which the companies indicated their willingness to accept, Walter L. Fisher, Victor F. Lawson, George C. Sikes, George E. Hooker and some others protested, and threw the traction side into confusion. At this point the proposed ordinance went into the Council, and like a bolt from a clear sky the Council, which for four months had "rebuked Dunne" with every vote, suddenly came over to him. They tabled the committee's one-sided compromise, and adopted an ordinance which the mayor had proposed when he found he could get no action on his "contract plan." Until then this ordinance, too, had been ignored. But now the "gray wolves," who had steadily voted against Dunne, astonished both him and most of the opposition by coming over. The suspicion is that they wanted boodle from the traction interests, that the traction interests would not give raw boodle lest they should scare off their "good government" supporters, and that the gray wolves therefore concluded to be right for nothing rather than to continue to be wrong for nothing. Some of the influences which had been devoted to baffling Mayor Dunne now urged him to refuse to accept his advantage at the hands of the "gray wolves." They had not objected before to his being "rebuked" by the "gray wolves," nor

The Street Railway Problem.

have they since objected to the increase of saloon licenses by the "gray wolf" vote.

The mayor's ordinances which were adopted at the revolution in the Council were for ownership and operation of the traction system. One provides under the Mueller Law for the issue of lien certificates to the amount of $75,000,000 to be expended from time to time in purchase or construction of lines, or both. The other, also under the Mueller Law, provides for operation. Both are to go to referendum at the municipal election on the 3d of April. The former requires at the referendum a majority vote, the other three-fifths.

At the same election one-half the City Council is to be elected, and the lines are drawn on the municipal ownership issue, a Municipal Ownership Advisory Committee having taken a hand at the primaries, where they were successful to a high degree, and now through petition, to recommend a trustworthy candidate to each constituency.

But here again confusing issues have been introduced. A great agitation for the suppression of crime was started immediately after the adoption of Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership and operation ordinance by the Council, although there is no more crime than heretofore when it excited no agitation. An anti-vice crusade has also sprung up, although the city is freer from gambling and other disorderly houses than ever. Also on the heels of Mayor Dunne's victory in the Council a high-license saloon contest (the necessity for which was just discovered) was started with a cyclonic roar, with the effect of thrusting into the municipal campaign an issue that would plunge the churches and the Germans into a fight. By these diversions it has been made possible to set the Germans against a municipal ownership candidate who favors high license, and the church people against a municipal ownership candidate who opposes high license. How successful these tactics will prove you may learn on the 4th of April. That they are corporation tactics, however, is evident from unmistakable thumb-marks.

Confusing Issues.

The foregoing was written before the Supreme Court of the United States had handed down its now famous decision in the Ninety-nine Years Act case. The following was written since that and in consequence of it:

The Ninety-nine Years Act.

"The local situation has, in my opinion, been immensely changed by the Supreme Court's decision. Without going into detail, I will simply say that it has knocked the herring trails into

a cocked hat—and herring trails don't make very good cocked hats. The dominant issue is clearly now the traction issue.

"What is better than anything else, the decision has probably torn down the veil between the municipal ownership people, who want municipal ownership and not the mere issue for a political football and who are really all-around good government people (this includes the mayor), and the all-around good government people, who also want municipal ownership. I need not enlarge on this. You will see the situation in this respect without explanation."

The view of Mayor Dunne's opponent is concisely set forth in the following letter:

"The Chicago municipal situation cannot be said to have improved in the past year. Just now an ordinance increasing the saloon licenses from $500 to $1,000 has passed, after a wholesome upheaval of sentiment due to the very poor efficiency of our police department, and a consequent apparent reign of crime. I am not sure that the crime has so greatly increased, but some tragic instances have caught the popular interest and conscience and awakened the people. The new license revenue will be used to largely strengthen the police force, adding some 1,100 or 1,200 men almost directly. The fact remains that the most serious trouble with the police department has not been in its numbers, but in its inefficiency and in the lack of morale. The same lack of efficiency and morale marks every department of the city government. For almost ten years now the traction question has been used for political purposes, and made to occupy the whole stage to the exclusion of all other issues, questions and reforms. Within the last year this traction issue has been used to bring about further municipal ownership in a city whose government hasn't practical ability enough to pave a street properly, or to perform any other business function of whatever degree or unimportance. Politics is poisoning the whole of the administrative side of our government. All, therefore, that we can show in recent years is an improvement, a decided improvement, in the *personal integrity* of a majority of the Common Council, brought about through the aid of the Municipal Voters' League, which, with all of its good work, is largely chargeable at the same time for the traction situation. The motives of the Municipal Voters' League cannot be questioned, of course, but it has nevertheless kept the traction issue to the front,

Dunne: An Opponent's Views.

Improvement in Personal Integrity.

and kept it undetermined, to the exclusion of the improvement of the Council in every other respect except that of personal respectability. The municipal courts will come in with next year, and by doing away with the police courts and the present justice courts will introduce unquestionably a very important reform. The new Charter Convention is at work trying to formulate some further improvements in our city charter and in our governmental institutions. All these things are in the future. Meanwhile we are about as poorly governed, so far as administration is concerned, as we ever were at any period of our city existence; and there is as much petty graft and low tone in our city administration, notwithstanding the personal integrity of the mayor and of some of his cabinet, as there ever was. We have elected a mayor who ought to have remained a judge.

I hope some of your other correspondents here will be able to give you a more flattering opinion of our city's progress in the past year.

As I have always held, there will be no real change of heart in our city government until politics are eradicated, and that process is not going forward. Our people are merely not alive to their situation. Whenever they awake to it, we will show you something in city reform that is worth while. At present reform movements merely scratch the ground—at their best. There is no largeness or completeness in them. The people must be waked up to the underlying "politics" and made sick of the very sight of politics. And as to further municipal ownership, at present, it would only produce more degeneracy."

Edward F. Dunne was elected a year ago on the issue of immediate municipal ownership. He has had a rather stormy time, being a man of sincere motives but not of very good administrative ability, and many of his appointments have been severely criticized. He has managed, however, to work out a municipal ownership plan which was recently passed by council and on April 3d last submitted to the voters. The ordinance providing for the issuance of $75,000,000 in Mueller Law certificates for the purchase of the street railways was adopted by about 3,000 majority. At the same election a vote was also taken on the question of the operation of the street railways. Under the Mueller Law no city can operate them unless the question is voted on separately and approved by three-fifths of those voting. This proposition, although receiving a majority of 10,000, failed to receive the requisite three-fifths vote. The city is therefore in a

position where it may acquire and own street railways but cannot operate them.

After many years of agitation Chicago has at last got some reduction in the price of gas. The legislature at its last session authorized the city council to regulate the price, which has recently been reduced from $1 to 85 cents per thousand feet. While the reduction was not sufficiently large to satisfy many elements in the community, it is generally considered as establishing a useful precedent.

Price of Gas.

The results of the election on April 3d, so far as aldermen were concerned, was very satisfactory to the Municipal Voters' League. In most instances the men recommended by it, as possessed of the highest order of character and ability, were elected.

The country at large is under deep obligation to Chicago for its municipal experiments and experiences. It is working out on a large scale the question of municipal democracy and of fundamental principles in a way to prove most illuminating and helpful to other communities. The success of its Municipal Voters' League has had a far-reaching effect; its contest with the street railway corporations and its effort to settle that problem are being followed with extreme care and breathless interest by municipal observers everywhere. Its fight for a high license and its gas contest are likewise the subject of thoughtful consideration.

Municipal Voters' League.

At the present time it is giving careful attention to another important problem, a Charter Convention having been recently called to consider, prepare and submit to the voters a new charter for the city in harmony with the modern needs of the city. What the outcome of the convention will be it is impossible to foretell, but it is likely to be an important and suggestive contribution to the subject. In short, Chicago is justifying the designation already given to it in these reviews of being a municipal laboratory wherein are being worked out many municipal experiments of deep and abiding interest.

In Michigan the most important event of the past year has been the vote on the proposition to hold a constitutional convention. Although the official figures have not yet been announced,

it is evident that the proposition was carried by a large majority on a rather light vote at the election on April 2d. The legislature at its session of 1907 will have to make provision for the election of the delegates and the holding of the convention. The Detroit Municipal League will make an active campaign in favor of a non-partisan convention, insisting that candidates in each district be nominated by petition and their names placed on the ballot without any official party designations.

Michigan.

There is likely to be considerable struggle for the control of the convention by corporation interests. The progressive elements are mainly bent upon securing municipal home rule and the initiative and referendum. There is also a great deal of discontent with the present system of taxation, and the proposed constitutional reforms fall into two classes: first, local option in taxation; second, the elimination of the uniformity clause and other provisions which prevent the separation of state and local revenues. The railroads are likely to try to overthrow the constitutional amendment secured several years ago by the late Governor Pingree providing for the assessment of railroad property by a state board and its taxation at the same average rate as is applied to other property in the state as assessed by local assessors.

The election at Grand Rapids was one of very considerable interest. Mayor Sweet, who two years ago was elected as a Democrat, was not renominated by his party, but by a mass meeting as an independent candidate. The Republican candidate was elected, although his vote was 2,211 less than a majority; but as the opposition was divided, he was elected by a large plurality, Mayor Sweet standing second in the poll. The general feeling in the city seems to be that the successful candidate has been put on his mettle and will give the city a good administration in view of the fact that it is being advertised far and wide as a wide-open town.

Grand Rapids.

The faith in the principle of non-partisanship in local affairs is by no means shaken by Mayor Sweet's defeat. He carried the two wards representing the most intelligent and aggressive part of the community. The old party fences were completely demol-

ished; an appeal was made by the Republican candidate to class feeling, and he received more votes in the wards which had been regarded as Democratic strongholds than the Democratic and non-partisan candidates combined. There was some feeling against Mayor Sweet because he did not try to get his party nomination. It is quite likely that he could have had it, and having it could have been elected; but he did not care to be re-elected with the feeling that he was under obligation to any party organization. The notable feature of the campaign was the friendliness which existed between the Democratic and Republican candidates. They were bitter in their attacks upon Mayor Sweet, and their friends pulled together harmoniously. The Democratic candidate has since been appointed to office by the Republican mayor.

Milwaukee.

After four successive elctions, Mayor Rose of Milwaukee has gone down to defeat. His repeated successes tended to create a feeling that he was impregnable; but Milwaukee has felt the effect of the reform movement, and at the April election chose Alderman Becker, a young man of vigorous personality and public spirit. An interesting feature of this campaign was the praise which Mayor Rose, a Democrat, bestowed upon the Republican boss. Alderman Becker, although the Republican candidate, had won his nomination without the support and co-operation of the Republican managers, who were generally believed to be interested in Mayor Rose. Here again we have an illustration similar to that which the Grand Rapids election furnishes, where the leaders of the party machines are more friendly to each other than they are to those who represent the true interests of the city.

The Milwaukee election was significant and encouraging in other directions. A considerable number of very good men were elected to council. The Republican candidate for mayor was elected; and the city treasurer, a Democrat, received a large majority from the same body of voters. This tendency to split the ticket appeared on all sides. In one ward, for instance, two able aldermen were elected: one a Democrat, the other a Republican; and the former has already announced that he did not propose to be a party man in this service. The recommenda-

tions of the Municipal Voters' League of Milwaukee were very generally regarded.

Mayor Jones of Minneapolis.

Minneapolis has been a center of interest. Last autumn Mayor Jones decided to close the saloons in Minneapolis on Sunday. The order was issued on October 31 and went into effect on the following Sunday. Since that time it has been strictly enforced and obeyed by the saloon-keepers without much show of resistance. Two or three cases of violation were discovered, but the offenders were speedily satisfied that the best thing for them to do was to obey the order.

Prior to the issuance of his order Mayor Jones made a careful study of conditions in St. Louis, Kansas City, Pittsburg and other cities where the saloons are closed on Sunday, and arrived at the conclusion to close them as the result of his own personal investigation. There had been some crusading done by local organizations and there had been some spasmodic prosecutions for keeping open on Sunday, but that effort had little if anything to do with the Mayor's action.

Mayor Jones, like Mayor Guthrie of Pittsburg, is a fine type of public official. He is a conscientious Christian gentleman of excellent ability, with considerable experience in municipal affairs, having been a member of the city council for six years and president of that body immediately prior to his election to be mayor. As president of the council it was also his duty four years ago to assume the office of mayor and fill the unexpired term of the notorious Ames when he was driven from power by the police investigation which made Minneapolis famous and for a time infamous. The question before the city now is whether Mayor Jones can be re-elected. It is expected he will be a candidate to succeed himself, as there is no one else to represent the issue that he has raised; and the fight will be on that issue. Sentiment on the Sunday-closing question has changed materially in Minneapolis during the past few years. One correspondent says: "I do not think the city would have supported the Sunday-closing order at any previous time. The so-called business sentiment was not favorable. I think it is now, and I expect to see Mr. Jones re-elected."

One interesting fact bearing upon the promise of his success is the attitude of the labor organizations. It has been most friendly. Indeed, he has received more frank endorsement from the labor organizations than from the business organizations, although the Commercial Club (a social and commercial body) and the Minneapolis Club (a purely social organization) have closed their buffets on Sunday in harmony with the mayor's act.

New Standards of Executive Performance.

Mayor Jones' administration has also been notable for the new standard of executive performance which he has maintained. During the first year of his administration he reorganized the police department on a non-partisan, voluntary civil service basis, and vastly improved both its personnel and its discipline. The requirements for appointment to the force are—good moral character, sound physical condition, as shown by a thorough examination by the health officer, with the usual height and weight requirements. Political considerations have been subordinated in making selections for the force, although, other qualifications being equal, these are not wholly ignored. Grafting, however, in any degree is punishable by dismissal from the force, while drinking on duty and brutality or any other serious infraction of the regulations is summarily punished; and thus far no amount of pull has been able to interefere with the punishment.

One thing has been clearly demonstrated by the police authorities, and that is that it is possible to divorce completely the department from any alliance, open or covert, with the criminal or vicious classes. The old-time theory that a certain class of crooks had to be protected to make possible effective work by detectives has been thoroughly demolished by the work of the police department in the past year. The most encouraging feature of the Minneapolis situation, however, is that the present indications are that it is not a case of spasmodic reform, but that the advances made under Mayor Jones undoubtedly represent a steady growth in civic righteousness. In short, the verdict in Minneapolis is the same as in Cleveland and, fortunately, in many other communities where capable public officials have persisted in their policy of well-doing and have been backed up by a developing public sentiment.

Minneapolis' sister city of St. Paul, after many years of lethargy, is experiencing a civic awakening. Thus far the work has been mainly in the line of organization for future activity. The significant thing is, that the work has been undertaken by men of public spirit and civic courage. All who are acting seem to be generally interested and mean business. Whether they will be able to accomplish all that they hope within the time they have set is doubtful, but that they are making the effort is hopeful.

St. Paul.

The situation in St. Louis continues to be fairly encouraging. While there has been no decided progress in municipal affairs during the past year, the city continues to enjoy the services of an honest mayor and an honest council. The revenues of the city have been greatly increased, the streets are kept clean, and intelligent efforts are being made to solve in the interests of the people the many and perplexing problems which confront the officials of every city. Governor Folk has given better boards for the local control of the police, excise and election; and excellent work is being done by them, but there is still considerable feeling on the part of a large portion of the community that these boards should be in the hands of the local authorities and not subject to the dictation of some future governor who may or may not be interested in securing good government.

St. Louis.

The April election in Kansas City resulted in a great victory for the good government forces, the choice of Henry M. Beardsley to the mayoralty being one of the most satisfactory events of the year. Mr. Beardsley is not only a lawyer of high personal character, but he has had long experience in dealing with municipal questions, having been a member of the upper branch of the council for six years, and during the last two years having served as president of the board of public works. In this latter position he had charge of the rehabilitation of the water plant, as well as other public improvements, involving the expenditure of many millions of dollars. Some idea of Mr. Beardsley's public spirit may be gathered from the fact that he accepted the nomination to the office much against his personal wishes and inclinations and the

Kansas City.

demands of his private practice, and that during his campaign he had charge of a canvass for raising $300,000 for the erection of a new Y. M. C. A. building.

Kansas City has also benefited by Governor Folk's interest in good government, the governor himself personally supervising the administration of the police and election laws on election day. Police intereference and fraudulent voting, heretofore characteristics of the local elections, were eliminated, and the governor's instructions for a rigid observance of the law were conscientiously carried out, and the city had the fairest election in its history.

The results in other directions were equally satisfactory, the voters exercising a large degree of independence and very generally abiding by the endorsements of the Civic League.

Louisville.

Louisville continues to furnish "a horrible example," although the public-spirited citizens who are actively engaged in devising ways and means for the relief of the city deny that "Louisville is hopelessly and helplessly corrupt," though frankly admitting that there has been great political corruption—that for years the city has not had an honest election, and that that held on November 7th was as bad as any election held anywhere where there has been great corruption. It is confidently asserted that the records will show that every crime against the ballot that could be committed was committed during the two days of registration and on the day of election.

Those who repudiate the declaration that Louisville is hopelessly corrupt base their belief upon the following facts: Normally Louisville is a Democratic city. For years there was no such thing as a Republican organization, though there were many Republicans. Republicans and independent voters increased with time and occasionally they carried on an election, although the results were not such as to inspire sufficient confidence to justify a continuance. The consequence has been the building up of a strong political machine within the Democratic party. This machine, as elsewhere, has become a close corporation, with rotation in office, but a rotation of practically the same persons. Like so many Southern cities, Louisville has, in the main, shared the

belief that it was necessary to maintain party loyalty, and the politicians have done all in their power to confirm that belief. Ten years ago, when a Good City Government Club was organized, there were few independent voters; since then their number has largely increased. The doctrine that partisan politics had no place in the municipal election, never anywhere of rapid growth, gained slowly in favor, and the last election showed the advances which it had made.

After the election of 1903, which had also been marked by great frauds, a few public-spirited citizens met to discuss the situation. An effort was made to raise $15,000 to prosecute the more flagrant cases. Those having the matter in charge were compelled to report that they were unable to raise any sum of consequence. Preceding the November, 1905 election, however, interest had been so awakened and had so far developed that a vigorous City Club was organized, and enough enthusiasm evinced to encourage the belief that something could be done, and $10,000 was raised in a very few minutes after the November election to provide the costs for the contest which was determined upon. For many months some of the best lawyers of the city and many of the younger members of the bar have been doing splendid work in taking depositions and collecting evidence to be used in the trial. Before it is completed it will probably be the most stupendous task of the kind ever undertaken in Louisville or, for that matter, in the South. In addition, numerous prosecutions were brought to punish those responsible for the frauds; but it will be weeks before the cases can be decided.

These facts are cited in justice to those who have been working long and earnestly in Louisville to bring about a change in affairs. Where people proceed in such a practical manner it cannot be said that their condition is hopeless or helpless. There is a steady growth of municipal reform sentiment in Louisville, and the list of those desiring honest elections and clean politics is growing day by day, and the recruits are coming from the bone and sinew of the community. The young men are interested as never before. The hope of a people lies in its honest, incorruptible, intelligent youth. The outcome of the contest may be disappointment, but the spirit of determination being manifested by

those constituting the present movement indicates that this disappointment will be but temporary and that Louisville will join with her sister American communities in throwing off the shackles of corruption and of partisanship and enter upon a career of public-spirited municipal development.

Iowa.

The municipal elections of Iowa, as in former years, represent the steady growth of local independence. The elections of the past month were without particular national political significance, the local issues in the majority of the cities and towns having been the determining factors. Republican cities elected Democratic officials, and Democratic cities, Republican officials; and in a number of communities the citizens' or independent tickets prevailed. Municipal ownership was the leading question in many communities, some deciding in favor of municipal ownership and operation, others against the policy. At Des Moines, where a number of propositions were submitted to the voters on this question, all were carried by a large majority. In Iowa City the question of Sunday observance was the issue involved, and the candidate representing what were called "Christian Endeavor principles" was elected. In Burlington the conservative candidate, who received the support of the churches and the Christian Endeavor Society, received more votes than his two opponents together. At Webster City, where all public utilities are now owned by the city, aldermen favoring the granting of a franchise to a private coroporation were successful; whereas in Creston a franchise for the old light company was defeated. The issue in Clinton was a moral one. In Decorah the election turned on the granting of a franchise; at Waterloo the municipal ownership candidate for mayor was elected, but the municipal ownership proposition was defeated by 32 votes.

Colorado.

In the Colorado elections of this spring local issues were, in most instances, the determining factor, the municipal ownership and rental questions being the principal ones about which the battles were waged. In ten communities municipal ownership candidates were successful. Glenwood Springs voted against municipal ownership; Grenada re-elected its Republican mayor for the fifth time,

and Littleton its Democratic mayor for the sixth time. In two communities the anti-saloon element prevailed, and their candidates on the good government ticket were elected. In a number of cities there was only one ticket in the field. These facts are recited not so much for their intrinsic value as to indicate the extent to which the Colorado municipalities have freed themselves from partisan considerations in determining purely local questions.

Denver.

Denver has been troubled throughout her entire history with the stuffing of the ballot-boxes to an enormous extent. Competent observers who have studied the situation, both in Denver and elsewhere, express the opinion that there is no place in this country, of its size, in which it is practiced to the same extent. One correspondent writes that he was told that several of the Denver ballot-box stuffers made more than one trip to Philadelphia to keep up-to-date along this line, and that, in true Western fashion, they went into the matter more enthusiastically than their teachers.

The League for Honest Elections was formed about three years ago to grapple with this situation. It enlisted scores of volunteer citizens, who watched the polls and reported on the fraudulent methods used. The results obtained were startling. In one precinct, consisting of three business blocks down-town, there were 719 registered voters and 726 ballots deposited, which were afterwards shown to be largely written by three persons. The vote stood 717 to 9, giving a larger majority for the vicious candidates than was given in sixty-six densely populated residence precincts for the decent candidates. The League endeavored unsuccessfully to have these cases prosecuted. Every possible dilatory method was resorted to. The local courts, with one or two exceptions, afforded very little help. Finally, the Supreme Court took a hand, at the instigation of one of the parties, and sent a few of the thieves to jail; but they were afterwards pardoned. During the agitation following the publication of these facts, the district-attorney came up for renomination and the League succeeded in defeating him, only to elect an opponent who has proven himself equally dilatory in the prosecution of cases.

A Voters' League had been formed to apply in an aggressive

way the principles of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago. This organization is preparing for the election to be held on May 15th. Some of the old tactics in regard to the padding of the registration lists and the stuffing of the ballot-boxes were being employed; but as the last Legislature passed a new registration law with a unique house-to-house registration feature, it may be possible to purge the registration lists. At the same election important franchises will be submitted, including the granting of a 20-year franchise to the present tramway company on its entire line of 150 miles of trackage, with an additional new line of 75 miles, and the franchise to the gas company providing for dollar gas at present, with a gradual reduction to 75 cents toward the end of the twentieth year. These franchises will probably carry, although there is general opposition, for the reason that the local utility corporations control both parties and have a large number of men in the field at this time preparing for the campaign.*

In spite of the conditions prevailing, however, it is generally believed that public spirit in Denver has grown immensely since the Honest Elections League was formed. The existence of the evils referred to, to any large extent, was at that time doubted; but now the people realize the situation, although they may feel discouraged. The public-spirited men in the city feel, however, that in spite of the many discouragements, there are better things ahead for them and that the general demand throughout the country for the better government of cities is being strongly felt. Several years ago such a statement would have been regarded as the more or less enthusiastic and optimistic view of those who were whistling to keep up their courage; but the events of the last two years have been such as to indicate that such expectations are well founded, and that although there may be, and will continue to be, discouragements and set-backs, the people are gradually developing a sense of public responsibility and activity that is bound to manifest itself at the polls and in a more persistent demand for efficient administration.

Seattle has joined the ranks of cities settling local issues on a

* The franchises did carry by a narrow majority and are now being contested on the ground of fraud.—EDITOR.

local basis, it having just elected (by a small majority, it is true) an independent mayor over the candidate of the dominant party's organization. The particular issue involved in the Seattle fight was municipal ownership, although general dissatisfaction with the existing condition of affairs was an important factor.

Seattle.

Mayor Ballenger gave to Seattle a conspicuously good administration. Under his guidance the city made a material development in conditions relating to better government from the standpoint of morals as well as from that of public efficiency. Not only was the question of the introduction of transcontinental railroads settled and the construction of a garbage-destruction plant authorized, but the completion of a municipal electric-lighting plant was undertaken, and the public service greatly extended throughout the city. Public improvements representing a very large expenditure of money were inaugurated. Notwithstanding, however, the admirable public services of Mayor Ballenger, who declined to be a candidate for re-election, the people refused to give the credit of his administration to the Republican organization. They recognized that he, Mayor Ballenger, and not the organization, was entitled to the credit; so that when it came to the selection of his successor, they chose him because of his personal fitness and his ability to carry forward the important work inaugurated by Mayor Ballenger irrespective of his national politics.

Mayor Moore's election was the resultant of several forces which, though opposed to each other, tended to operate in one given direction. His success means protest against municipal ring rule, protest against political influence of the street-car company, and partly a move for better civic morals.

The civic installation incident to the inauguration of Mayor Moore is a rather significant and interesting development, inasmuch as it represents the new emphasis which our cities are placing upon their municipal affairs. Heretofore, especially in the Western cities, the transfer of office from one official to another was a mere formal matter, without much ceremony. This year it was thought that the event should be marked by some public observance, and accordingly the Grand Opera House (the largest

auditorium in the city) was secured; the outgoing officials and the incoming officials were invited, as well as the clergymen of the city and other prominent citizens. Although the move was belittled by those who were disgruntled over the results of the election, the event was a great success and people were turned away from the doors. The consequence has been that the present administration has entered upon its work with a fitting sense of its responsibility, and after having had the benefit of hearing the sentiments of the citizens thoughtfully, considerately, but courageously expressed.

Portland, Oregon.

In Portland, Oregon, the reform forces are triumphant in every direction. The present mayor is thorough-going in his endeavors to give a good administration, and the common council is doing very nicely, although it and the mayor do not always work in harmony. The most marked improvement noticeable has been in the granting of franchises for public utilities. This is now being done very cautiously and prudently, and the city is getting substantial value for all of its franchises, with rights of inspection, publicity, and reversion to the city that are decidedly a marked improvement upon the loose methods of old times. Reform seems to have come to stay, and is so popular that it needs only wise guidance to effect very great improvement in public affairs.

The operation of the new direct primary law is being watched with care. While it is too early to express an opinion, those who are most competent to express one are certain that the new law has destroyed the old rings and cliques. Its most serious defect, according to some observers, is that it makes office almost entirely a self-seeking operation: that is, under no ordinary circumstances can the office seek the man, but the man has from the beginning to work for the office. This is regarded as an encouragement to people who desire notoriety and who are willing to pay for it, and a discouragement to the self-respecting, dignified and ofttimes shrinking citizens. The Democratic party, which by reason of its situation has been a beneficiary of the reform movement, held what was practically a convention and discussed ways and means of presenting the names of responsible citizens for

selection at the primaries. In this way it is expected that the benefits of the old and the new system will be secured.

San Francisco is another "horrible example," the candidates of the independent citizens having been to a man defeated. This city presents a situation unique in the annals of American municipal history, in that until last summer one boss controlled the three leading parties: the Republican, the Democratic and the Labor. Vigorous efforts were made at the Republican and Democratic primaries to throw off the yoke of this all-powerful boss, which succeeded. Then the leaders of the Republican and Democratic forces determined to disregard partisan politics and to unite upon a single ticket to represent the best interests of the city. The boss retained his hold upon the Labor party, and by a shrewd, although unscrupulous appeal to class prejudice, was able to elect his entire Labor ticket. The victory does not represent a triumph of those principles wherein the best element of organized labor are most profoundly interested, but simply the capture of the title by designing men for their own ends. The election of the entire ticket was a great surprise, and was not expected even by the successful candidates. It is now generally conceded to have been caused by the voting machines, which worked very successfully so far as the mechanical part was concerned. The entire vote of the city was known within a very short time after the polls closed. As, however, it was the first time many of the voters had ever used the machine and they did not understand it very well, there is no doubt that many thousands voted straight tickets who otherwise would have split the tickets, as that was the easiest course to pursue. It was thought there was no danger then of their making a mistake in voting. The outcome was unfortunate, not only because it was the result of class prejudice skilfully manipulated on the one hand and of ignorance on the other, but because of the defeat of the old board of supervisors, most of whom had proved themselves to be honest and efficient officials and should have been re-elected as an encouragement to good men to run for that office.

San Francisco.

Los Angeles has had no municipal election during the past year, but certain new charter amendments have gone into effect. These,

Los Angeles.

with the radical change in the city government in the appointment of a new board of public works which has taken over practically all of the executive work that formerly resided with the council and was in the hands of technical officers elected by the people, constitute an important event. This change was part of the local municipal league's program, the amendment having been drawn up by the league's committee. As illustrating the influence of the local league the following instance is interesting: a deadlock having occurred in the appointment of the board, it was proposed to leave the matter to the members of the board of the Municipal League and the two commercial organizations, a practice that has grown up in the city in the last few years with respect to many public provisions. The mayor refused, and that has put public sentiment decidedly against him. At last a public meeting was called and a citizens' committee appointed to call on the mayor, who finally consented to let the three organizations in question name the board. This they did, naming three excellent men, who were immediately confirmed by the council. As these appointees are now actually more influential in the city government than either council or the mayor, the outcome was a distinct victory for good government.

The next city election occurs in December, and there is every indication that the next set of city officers will be a vast improvement over the present set, particularly as to the mayor and council. The league's campaign is already being organized, and it is expected there will soon be in the field a working body of from 8,000 to 10,000 people vigorously and efficiently at work. It is confidently believed that the next election will place the city government of Los Angeles on an entirely new basis; and after that, that it will be much easier sailing.

The War on Graft.

The war on graft throughout the United States has been pressed with great vigor and spread with greater rapidity. There is practically no community in the country where the municipal problem is at all serious but has had its investigations or inquiry, and consequent exposures and prosecutions. In Philadelphia an equity suit has been commenced against the firm of contractors,

including the former leaders of the now discredited organization, as defendants, to recover upwards of $5,000,000 alleged upon the report of the experts to have been corruptly diverted. The counsel for the Committee of Seventy has had referred to them the testimony thus far gathered, with a view of determining whether criminal suits in addition to those already inaugurated for damages should be brought.

In New York the insurance disclosures have occupied the center of observation and bid fair to affect, even more generally than they already have, the political situation there.

Cincinnati's Investigation.

The Ohio State Senate sent a committee to Cincinnati, which joined in "the revolt against venal bossism and municipal corruption," to investigate and expose the methods by which the machine secured and retained its power. It only took the committee one day to unearth one form of graft which yielded from $15,000 to $20,000 a year to the boss's lieutenants. The county commissioner testified that he collected taxes annually amounting to about $7,000,000, mostly in the form of checks, which were deposited in the various banks. This money was allowed to remain certain definite times after collection, in return for which favor banks presented him with a gratuity, which he frankly confessed he accepted as a perquisite of the office, the city receiving nothing on the deposits in the way of interest. The treasurer maintained while on the stand that the checks did not constitute public funds, and that they did not become such until the banks had collected them and the cash was actually deposited in the vaults of the treasury. Under such a theory taxes so collected could be left with the banks until actually needed to pay county debts and the interest on the balances diverted as donations from the county treasury to the treasurer's pocket.

Allegheny's Fight on Vice.

In Allegheny a series of prosecutions has resulted in the conviction of a number of office-holders for various crimes against the public welfare. The superintendent of police was convicted of conspiracy, the charge being based on his having taken $50.00 in cash and a diamond in payment for aiding and abetting the maintenance of a disorderly house. A street commissioner was con-

victed of a similar offence; later, a captain of police. Incident to these convictions there were several disagreements on the part of the juries, and the prosecutors, becoming suspicious that the juries had been unduly and corruptly influenced, made careful investigation, which resulted in the verification of the suspicion and the prosecution and conviction of the jury-fixer.

Milwaukee has witnessed a long series of prosecutions and convictions. Up to a very recent date 21 defendants had either been convicted or pleaded guilty and 6 had been acquitted. The indictments involved the acceptance of rebates on city contracts, the payment of money to supervisors, the acceptance of cash bribes, and extortion.

Bribery in California Legislature.

At the time of the convening of the California Legislature a year ago there was considerable newspaper gossip to the effect that certain building and loan associations were being grossly mismanaged, and special attention was called to the affairs of one. It so happened that the officers of this association had been prominent in politics and had opposed the papers' policies. Nevertheless, a legislative investigation of the association was demanded, and the Senate appointed a committee of seven Senators, four of whom outlined a plan by which they would investigate the association and make some money out of it. They selected a go-between to approach the officers of the concern and ascertain whether it would be willing to pay for stopping the investigation. They professed to be willing to do so, but quietly set a trap to catch the Senators, the sum of $1,400 being agreed upon as the price to be paid. In the meantime the committee proceeded to summon witnesses to hold a farce of an investigation. The officers of the association then refused to respond to the subpoenas of the committee and were cited to appear before the Senate to answer for contempt. They appeared before the Senate and then and there disclosed the whole proceedings and accused the four Senators of soliciting and receiving bribes. The go-between confessed his complicity and the Senate appointed a committee, which refused to allow the accused to testify under oath, owing to the clause in the law which exempts a person who testifies in a case of bribery from further punish-

ment. The Senate then reported the accused to be guilty and recommended their expulsion from the Senate, which was unanimously done. The grand jury of Sacramento County shortly afterwards found an indictment against the four Senators, one of whom turned state's evidence, and all have since been convicted.

These instances are cited not because they constitute all that has been accomplished along these lines during the past year, but as typical of what is being done in nearly every important community in the land.

The Central West continues to be the storm center of municipal reform activity, with New York and Pennsylvania pressing closely and the Western Slope municipalities not far behind.

The Storm Center of Activity.

During the past year there have been fewer incidents of importance or interest in the New England and Southern States, the principal events having been those already mentioned herein. But there is no lack of signs of abundant life in the leading New England and Southern communities. The fact that they have not been prominently to the front during the past year is no evidence that the earnest people living there are not fully alive to the situation and of the need for earnest effort. It just so happens that there have been few or no significant developments occurring since the date of the last review.

There have been many important improvements of far-reaching character undertaken by the municipalities of the United States. It would extend this review far beyond its proper bounds to mention these, even in a general way, so extensive have they been. Mention, however, must be made, if only briefly, of the project to expend $25,000,000 for the improvement of the water supply of Los Angeles; of the publication of Daniel H. Burnham's plans for the improvement of San Francisco, called most aptly by those in charge of the matter as "San Francisco's new civic charter"; the reports for the reorganization of Denver, Colorado, and Columbia, South Carolina; the inauguration of Chicago's neighborhood center and outer park systems; the establishment of the municipal museum in the same city; the very remarkable progress now under way in Washington along local lines.

Municipal Improvements.

It is a rather curious fact that in many directions the developments in Washington have been more backward than those in any other community. While a model in many ways of honest and efficient administration, the government of our capital city has been retarded because of the inability of the people to take any real part in the matter, and because they have had to depend upon Congress, a body created for entirely different purposes and but little qualified to discharge the functions of a municipal legislature. Thanks, however, to the intelligent leadership of the commissioners and of the public-spirted citizens who are deeply concerned in its welfare, there has been a very remarkable and satisfactory development in the way of attacking the slum districts, the extension of the park system, the improvement of the water supply and the sewage system, and along other important lines.

Washington, D. C.

Harrisburg, which for the last four or five years has occupied so much of the public eye because of the successful execution of its far-reaching plans for civic improvement, continues its good work. The improvements authorized in 1902 are now either completed or on the way to early completion. The filtration plant has been actually completed, and within the past five months has begun the delivery of 11,000,000 gallons of pure water daily to the people of the city. A great intercepting sewer, relieving intolerable conditions, is in service; 21 miles of streets have been paved at an expense to the city of $100,000 for intersections, and to the people upon the foot-front assessment basis of practically $1,000,000—this paving being of the best character and put down under rigorous and expert inspection.

Harrisburg.

The proposed park system for the city has been proceeded with encouragingly. The one little park possessed by it four years ago has been trebled in size and its actual facilities greatly improved. The river front park has been made practicable and is largely used. A ten-acre playground has been purchased and opened. The projected parkway of nearly eighteen miles has been begun, and about two miles will be in service within a few weeks. Lying parallel to the very heart of the city is a beautiful

island, upon one portion of which the filtration plant has been established. Recently an arrangement was completed giving to the city, without compensation, the use for twenty years of the balance of this island for park purposes. All this has been done, and the tax rate, instead of being increased as expected, 2 mills under the most favorable conditions and 3½ mills under unfavorable conditions, has actually been advanced but ½ mill, so that it now stands at 8 mills for city purposes against 7½ mills in 1902.

Municipal Ownership.

The question of the municipal ownership of our public utilities in many communities has overshadowed all other questions. It has been the one municipal issue in an increasing number of communities upon which the people have felt and expressed a decided opinion. In Chicago it has been the burning question ever since Mayor Dunne's nomination on an immediate municipal ownership platform. In Boston it has occupied a large share of attention, and the settlement of the gas question has been conspicuously to the front. Its settlement along lines satisfactory to the best interests of the city is due almost entirely to the public-spirited activity of the Public Franchise League and of organizations that have co-operated with it. The Seattle election turned upon this question. The great vote cast for Mr. Hearst in the November, 1905, election in New York was due to public interest in it. In Denver, in Lincoln, Neb., in San Francisco, in Philadelphia—in fact, in a long list of cities the question has been actively to the front.

Chicago cast another vote in favor of municipal ownership, although it failed to cast the necessary three-fifths to enable the councils to proceed at once to operate the street railways; but on the advisory question of public policy the city authorities are forbidden by a majority vote to grant any franchises, and the city has been authorized to issue certificates under the Mueller Law not to exceed in amount $75,000,000. In Kansas City both the Republican and the Democratic platforms declared for the principle of municipal ownership. Cleveland is gradually entering upon a policy of municipal ownership and operation, having recently appropriated $40,000 for the extension of the municipal

lighting plant. In New Jersey the movement for limited franchises is making substantial headway. The action of the Newark Board of Trade indicates very clearly the trend of public sentiment, it having recently adopted a resolution favoring the enactment of a law to prohibit the grant by any municipality of any special privilege in the public streets for a longer period than twenty-five years, the property used in the exercise of the grant to revert to the municipality at the end of the period, and then to be offered for a further period at public auction and granted to the bidder offering the best terms.

Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia consummated what to many seems to be the most notable achievement of his already notable administration in his settlement of the rapid transit problem in Philadelphia. As the "North American" pointed out in a commendatory editorial: "He played a weak hand with great skill, and has compelled the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company to surrender many of its stolen franchises, thus clearing the way for competing companies and removing the idea of disfiguring tracks on the city's principal thoroughfare, Broad Street. Moreover, the Rapid Transit Company has agreed to pay $400,000 to be applied upon the cost of removing certain grade crossings on the Reading Railroad. On the other hand, it agreed to complete within three years the Market Street subway, and a new subway under Broad Street from Walnut Street north to the county line, a distance of about eight miles; also several other subways, and an elevated railroad from the river front and South Street to Frankford, an important northeastern suburb.

There has been no diminution of interest in the subject of nomination reform. A very interesting conference on electoral reforms was held in New York City in March last under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, and the development of public sentiment in favor of uniform direct primaries was shown to be rapidly increasing. Pennsylvania, as a result of the political revolution of the past year, has now a fairly satisfactory law, which will eliminate many of the features which have made machine domination in that State easy of accomplishment. The subject is a burning one in Oregon and Washington, as also in Minne-

Nomination Reform.

sota, Wisconsin and Illinois—in fact, in all the Central Western States. The Minnesota law continues to give general satisfaction. The results in Wisconsin are too recent to enable one to form a conclusion of any value. The Supreme Court of Illinois has declared the Act of 1905 unconstitutional; but Governor Deneen called a special session of the Legislature to pass a new one which met with its approval but does not seem to have met that of many others.

Corrupt Practices.

There is a growing sentiment in favor of legislation on the subject of the prevention of corrupt practices at elections. This topic was considered very thoroughly at the National Civic Federation's conference and a number of bills on the subject are now pending in various state legislatures. The Roberts Bill in Pennsylvania required publicity of accounts and, so far as it went, is regarded as dealing intelligently with the evils of accounting so far as the mere question of publicity is concerned.

Municipal Civil Service.

Perhaps the most important development along the lines of the establishment of municipal civil service is that in Philadelphia, the special session of the Legislature having passed a comprehensive measure which had the approval of the Civil Service Reform Association and the Committee of Seventy. It was vigorously and successfully championed by Mayor Weaver, who since its passage has helped to give it force and effect through the appointment of a sympathetic board of commissioners. The act is a complete and comprehensive one, providing for the appointment by the mayor of a civil service commission of three men with a five years' term of office. It requires appointment from the four highest on the eligible list, and a probation period of five months. The exempt class is reduced to a low minimum, and most of the safeguards which experience has demonstrated to be necessary has been thrown around appointment to office. Political considerations are excluded, and the old-time pull of local politicians and bosses eliminated. No person can be transferred to any position subject to a competitive examination unless he shall have previously passed an open competitive examination equivalent to that required for such position.

In the matter of charter reform, an interesting bill was introduced into the Massachusetts Legislature which, if enacted into law, would have marked an important step forward and furnish an interesting experiment in the effective coördination and organization of adjacent municipalities with common interests, but separate governments.

Charter Reform.

This measure, known as the Metropolitan District Council Bill, provided that the chief magistrates of the cities and the chairmen of the boards of selectmen of the towns that are now or may be included within the metropolitan park, water, or sewage system of Boston, shall constitute the Metropolitan District Council, to which the several commissions and boards should annually in the month of January submit reports of the work performed and the money expended by them during the preceding year, together with detailed estimates of the amounts required for the ensuing year. This council must vote by a roll-call of municipalities and towns on the question of approving or disapproving all proposed legislation involving appropriations of money for park, boulevard, water, or sewage purposes; but only those municipalities shall vote which have a financial interest as contributors in the proposed expenditure of money. This council must also submit to the Legislature from time to time reports, with its recommendations, on the various questions of metropolitan work which have been brought before it; and in all cases where votes have been taken, such reports shall contain a full record, giving the names of the municipalities which have favored and those which have disapproved of each proposition. Thirty-nine municipalities were interested in this measure and came within its scope. Their combined area about equaled that of the city of Greater New York, with an approximate population of 1,400,000.

A vigorous effort was made, but in vain, by an organization of mayors of various Ohio cities, both Republican and Democratic, to secure an improved municipal code which should incorporate the so-called federal plan, centering power in the mayor and with the right of local decision by popular vote on all franchises and the municipal ownership of all public utilities.

A significant feature of the recent Grand Rapids election was the vote upon the charter amendments providing for the advisory

initiative on ordinances and for the recall on elective and appointive officers. The amendments were drafted by the Voters' Initiative Veto and Recall League, and were submitted on petitions asigned by nearly 4,000 voters. The amendment providing for the recall upon elective officers was carried by a vote of 7,077 to 1,929. The vote on the amendment providing for the recall of appointive officers was 6,692 in favor of, 1,755 against, and the vote for the advisory initiative on ordinances was 5,183 to 1,682.

Galveston.

The Galveston plan of government continues to excite general attention. It has produced such admirable results through conscientious, faithful administration in the city of its origin that it has been copied in other Texas cities and has been very generally considered in other states, notably in Iowa, where, however, it has not secured sufficient support to secure enactment into law.

Municipal Officials.

Municipal officials continue their activity in behalf of more efficient administration and higher standards. The League of American Municipalities, the American Society of Municipal Improvements and the various state leagues continue helpful work along educational lines. A larger and larger number of officials are taking a deeper and more comprehensive view of their responsibilities and are seeking to give force and effect to public opinion on important questions. In Ohio, Mayor Johnson has been instrumental in organizing the mayors, and their influence on legislation has been helpful, although they did not succeed in securing the passage of a new municipal code. The organization of the League of Virginia Municipalities is to be noted with interest as a very satisfactory development in a leading Southern state. The Michigan and Iowa leagues have taken the initiative in a movement for uniform accounting and are doing yeoman service. Another class of officials are constituting themselves an important factor in municipal progress. I refer to the auditing and accounting officers who met in February under the auspices of the United States Census Bureau to consider the question of the uniform classification of municipal accounts and comparable municipal statistics. The excellent results of the first conference

called by the Bureau were partially reflected in Bulletin No. 20, issued by it some months ago, containing the results of the Census Bureau's municipal investigation for the fiscal years 1902 and 1903. A similar report for 1904 is now in preparation, and a second conference was called prior to undertaking the report for 1905, in the belief that it would lead to beneficial results both for the cities which participate and for the Census Bureau. Some fifteen different states were represented, including such distant ones as Minnesota, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado and South Carolina, and the deepest interest was manifested in the questions considered, especially in that having to do with the keeping of the accounts of municipal industries and public service corporations, so that the cost of construction and of operation and of the value of the services rendered might be compared.

A movement of the greatest promise is the formation of city government clubs in our educational institutions. The Yale City Government Club, which has done excellent work in this behalf, called a conference of similar organizations, which was held in March in the city of New York, and the Intercollegiate League of College Good Government Clubs formally organized. The fact that the young college men, who are about to enter upon the discharge of their duties as citizens, realize the responsibility resting upon them and the necessity for intelligent consideration of the work before them, indicates the growth of public sentiment in the right direction along these lines and holds out great promise for the coming generations.

Young Men and Civic Progress.

Of somewhat similar import has been the interest manifested in politics by various bodies of young men, notably those banded together in the Young Men's Christian Associations of the country. The subject of the Association's civic opportunitity was a leading theme at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania and the Ohio State Associations. At the latter meeting the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"1. We recognize the great civic awakening through which our country is now passing. We rejoice greatly in the evident influence already exerted by members of our organizations in fostering rational movements of reform and civic betterment.

2. We realize that as an association we have no part to play in partisan politics, but we earnestly urge our members as individuals to sustain by their personal efforts and by words of commendation and encouragement those public officers who are standing for the right.

3. We believe that a knowledge of actual conditions is essential in arriving at the true basic principles by which to govern our actions.

4. We therefore recommend to the Association the formation of clubs and other agencies for the careful study and free discussion of municipal problems and urge upon our members active participation in all efforts for civic reform."

Numerous local associations are organizing good government courses and are seeking in various ways, on the one hand, to interest their members in municipal problems, and on the other hand to educate them to intelligent activity.

Chicago Conference.

A strikingly interesting and suggestive conference was held in January in Chicago under the auspices of the Municipal Voters' League of that city, to consider the extent to which municipal elections should be separated from national party politics and the control of national political parties, and the best means by which such separation as may be deemed advisable can be brought about. Sixteen organizations were represented and a series of resolutions adopted voicing the sentiment of those who were engaged in the campaign against municipal corruption and inefficiency. The fact that the active workers of the militant forces for municipal reform were able to agree unanimously upon a declaration of principles involving so many principles for which the League has year in and year out contended is a striking demonstration of their soundness and of the extent of the movement in behalf of their adoption.*

The municipal problem in America is a great one, and of exceeding complexity and difficulty. The fact that so large a number of men and women, and of organizations, are devoting their thought, their time, their attention and their energy to its solution gives encouragement to the belief expressed at the be-

*See Mr. Charles Richardson's paper in this volume.

ginning of this review that the charge will no longer rest against the American people that they are indifferent to their municipal obligations. Civic patriotism is growing day by day, as we have already seen in this survey of the field; its manifestations during the past year have been numerous and notable; and yet, as great and as numerous as they have been, I am convinced that but few of us appreciate how thoroughly the people are aroused to the present situation and the extent to which they have resolved to free their communities of the stain of corruption and inefficiency. As Ruskin has pointed out: "Neither a great thought, nor a great man, nor a great poem, nor a great picture, nor any other great thing, can be fathomed to the bottom in a moment of time;" and the great movement in American cities for their reformation cannot be comprehended nor fathomed in a review such as this. The manifestations, however, are such as to justify the conclusion that we are upon the threshold of a day of great developments along municipal lines.

The Cincinnati Situation.

By A. JULIUS FREIBERG, Esq., Cincinnati.

A volume has been written of the Cincinnati situation, briefly epitomizing the growth into power of the lately removed boss, and so I trust the members of the League will understand that the limits of a short paper will admit of the barest outline and will necessitate the omission of most of the details of a decidedly interesting story.

The Defeated Boss.

The defeated candidate for the mayoralty of Cincinnati at the last November election—your typical respectable boss-tool—unctuously and with unconscious humor gave out on the night of the count that his downfall was "part of the reform wave that was then sweeping over the country." You will observe that up to that time reform had been scarcely respectable in Cincinnati, and one's personal demerits could be safely hidden under a constitutional immunity from that form of disease. And yet this man spoke the truth. Three months before the election the city, politically speaking, was in a dead calm. It is true, a small coterie of men had been working faithfully, tirelessly, for freedom; discontent there was, here and there; two newspapers, an evening daily and a weekly, had been hammering for several years into the mind of the independent voter the appalling mismanagement and corruption of the public service; but so deep-rooted, so all-embracing was the extensive Republican organization under one George B. Cox—a master-hand, a king among bosses—that the Democratic so-called "Little Boss" stood by, convention time, with a wink of his left eye, and allowed any one who chose, to do the nominating for the minority side. Hope of defeating the machine was for the moment at its lowest ebb; the Democrats, indeed, experienced the greatest difficulty in getting men to run,

and the most sanguine reformer felt the need of casting his eye years ahead for the fruition of his labor.

The Calm before the Storm.

The calm proved to be the proverbial "calm before the storm." So many efforts to beat down the powers of corruption, ramified as they were into every circle of the community—business, professional, laboring, social—had failed, that men's spirits were jaded and their despair almost complete. But the ferment had been working, imperceptibly, noiselessly, stirred by the epoch-making events in other cities, and by the bitter truth-telling of the class of men lately dubbed "hysterical creators of the literature of exposure." The investigation of the insurance scandals in New York, the mighty and successful revolution in Philadelphia, the vivid portrayals of the school of Mr. Lincoln Steffens, combined to make the people think once more of their franchise. But their eyes were cast afar. "Things must be pretty bad in other places, but George Cox gives us a pretty good government. We have tried reform before, and besides, we never desert the Republican party, the party of Roosevelt, of the revered McKinley, of Lincoln and Grant and the other dead men." What, then, caused the sudden change—the reversal of a Republican majority of 15,000 out of a total vote of 75,000, into a Democratic majority of 6,000 in the twinkling of an eye? Let us go back a little.

Cincinnati's Character.

Cincinnati is a community composed largely of Germans and men of German descent, frugal, personally honest, trustful and slow to anger. The city is a solid city, commercially and socially, but, generally speaking, extremely conservative in entering upon new and untried undertakings. Unlike New York, unlike Chicago, it is not a fertile breeding ground for new propaganda, for quick dissemination of new ideas. The *status quo* is hard to overcome. Especially is this true in politics. Cincinnati was a border city, and a great many of its German citizens fought in the Civil War on the Union side under a commander named Siegel. Not long ago one of my acquaintances in his impatience put it thus to his German friend, a rich manufacturer: "Yes, you fought mit Siegel and you vote mit Cox."

The Cox Machine.

Preceding the year 1897 and culminating with that year the Cox organization had become so odious that there was a revolt in the party itself, and the bolters joined with the Democrats in electing as mayor a German by the name of Tafel, a man considered to be honest and decent. But the Tafel fusion administration was so rankly incompetent that it disgusted the electorate. Wrangling among themselves soon destroyed all hope of success, so that before long the renegade bolters, and indeed many of the Democratic components of the crowd in power veered over to Cox; and from that time dates the building up of a machine so powerful that it has been able at the turn of a crank to send out 20,000 men to the Republican primaries. Cox very shrewdly remained unostentatious, and shrewdly associated himself with the business element, flirted with every opponent who was a likely purchase, gave the erstwhile bolters the best offices, and gained the reputation of never breaking his promise. At the slightest sign of a revolt of the people he could turn loose his newspaper organs with the cry of "Tafelism—Fusion—Reform—Horrors," and it always worked. He had the city tightly in his grasp, appointed the judges—never the best men available—cowed the rank and file of the lawyers, frightened saloon-keepers by warning them against the reformer who "would put on the lid," cajoled the young college man and the taxpayer, and punished the doubter.

In 1903 there seemed to be a chance to beat him. The Democrats were weak. A third party of independents could not have aided them by endorsement, even if they were to put up a good ticket, because of a law (the Dana Law) which forbade the placing of a name in two places on the ballot; and you could not with force and arms induce the disciples of Siegel to vote under the rooster. But the Democrats listened to counsel and were induced to stay out of the field, nominally at least. The Citizens' Municipal party was organized, partially by submissive Democrats and partially by independent men. M. E. Ingalls, the president of the Big Four Railroad, a prominent citizen, was placed at the head of the ticket to run against Mayor Julius Fleischmann, a young man of large means, pleasure-loving, a popular idol, but of little

or no experience, and if not thoroughly subservient to Cox, at least unwilling to take the trouble to cross him. In his wake trailed a number of young men of the type of Nicholas Longworth, jolly fellows all. Ingalls was defeated, but out of the fight a nucleus remained. The Citizens' Municipal party had gathered together a small band of men, devoted to the city and to each other, who resolved that Carthage must eventually be destroyed. At their head was Elliott H. Pendleton, who had been entrusted with the publication of a paper intended to serve only as a temporary campaign sheet—"The Citizens' Bulletin." After the campaign Pendleton was made chairman of the Citizens' party, and for a while he came near being the whole party. His first resolve was to make the "Citizens' Bulletin" a permanent publication, and from that day to this the "Bulletin" has never missed an issue. It has grown from a four-page hand-bill to a portly sixteen-page weekly paper. Its subscription list grows daily and its readers are the truest of the true. But it must be borne in mind that with all the splendid work of "The Bulletin," and of "The Cincinnati Post" (the Scripps-McRae evening daily), the task was too tremendous to be successful in two years, unless something fortuitous happened. The Associated Press journals, with perhaps one exception, right valiantly bore the banner of Cox, and with sophistry and cant, with appeals to the memory of the revered McKinley, with insidious reminders of the then attractively low tax rate and with solemn warning against Tafelism, fusion and reform, were able to divert the minds of the lovers of the *status quo* from the plunderings of the public treasury, from the abominable condition of the streets, the sameful deterioration of the public schools, the mediocrity of the Bench, the general decay of civic interest and public spirit.

The Citizens' Municipal Party.

The Newspapers.

Scenting a slight unrest in the early fall of 1905, the Cox managers, always awake, never over-estimating their strength, deemed it advisable to have on tap a force of registered voters that would render impossible a chance rift in the quiet sky. So they registered them with a vengeance. Men were brought from up river by the boat load, and Kentucky was scoured for negroes

to enjoy the city life for a period. They registered them from dives and doggeries, from coal-bins and water-closets—no space was too small to harbor a man. This gave the golden opportunity to a number of brave men headed by J. C. Harper, working with the "Cincinnati Post," a man of indomitable energy and force. Mr. Harper organized the Honest Elections Committee, drew to him a large band of volunteers—young men who had never even dared to join the Citizens' Municipal party—and with the help of the "Post" gave such publicity to the rottenness of the registration lists that the sleeping city turned over once or twice and made a sound that struck the hearts of the gang with terror. Then came the climax.

Secretary Taft's Speech.

William H. Taft, Secretary of War, is a son of Alphonso Taft, one of Cincinnati's early notables, and for years has been respected for his independence, his strength, and for his record on the Federal Bench. Moreover, Judge Taft has held six or seven high offices under the Republican party. Coming from the company of Root, then still in the Philadelphia fight, of Bonaparte, prince of reformers, and from Roosevelt, anything Judge Taft might say at that psychological moment was sure to tell. Taft had promised to make one speech in Ohio for the Republican candidate for governor. In that speech, although he praised the Republican governor, himself elected with Cox's help, Taft "went for" the Cincinnati machine. In unmistakable language he cried out that Cox should be defeated, and added that were he to vote he would cast his ballot against the local Republican organization. That was high authority indeed for the disciples of Siegel.

It is a lesson, and a rather confounding lesson, that the word of one man should be powerful enough to change an election. But that is what happened, and the League may well ponder the effect of such influence, which works apart from charters and ballot laws and systems of government, which indeed may as often be exercised for evil as for good.

Cox was beaten and the whole ticket with him—a completely new experience for this generation of Cincinnatians. The new mayor, Judge Dempsey, with his executive board, immediately went to work to try to cope with the army of applicants for jobs.

The difficulty of the task may well be imagined. The officers-elect had been chosen by a Democratic convention. Few of the constituents of this convention cared a rap about the separation of city politics from national politics. Demand was immediately made for the appointment of the faithful to the two thousand or more jobs at disposal. On the other hand, everybody knew that the ticket could not have been elected without the help of Republican votes, and there was a great clamor from the Independent Republicans for appointments. And furthermore, the local Civil Service Reform League, the "Citizens' Bulletin," and other civic agencies were insistent for the retention of even Cox men (in the minor positions) who had not been guilty of "pernicious political activity." Notwithstanding the opposition of two of the five of the appointing board, who are Democrats of the old school, some independent Republicans were appointed to office, (notably the street-cleaning superintendent, an educated man of means) and some Cox men whose activity in the old machine had been only what was necessary to keep them alive.

The Condition of the Departments.

The city departments were found to be in a deplorable condition—the waterworks on the verge of break-down, the streets a mass of ruts and dust-heaps, the election machinery in the hands of incompetent and unscrupulous men, and chaos generally. This was the *impasse* confronting the new officers, themselves untried in public service, with little or no money to go forward with, and with a city council still in the hands of the gang and ready to thwart the executive officers at every step—and so stands the situation to-day. It turns out that many of the men appointed to jobs are unfit, and many of the Republican constituents unworthy of the trust placed in them. The Democrats have succeeded in foisting on the Board machine men of their own stripe—not a whit freer from the collar of their boss than the Republicans of the outgoing administration. On the other hand, hundreds of Democrats who considered themselves entitled to favor for their long years of unrewarded service were halted at the gates of their heaven and now threaten vengeance of one kind or another.

Meantime, what is the attitude of the people? The spasm of

revolution against the gang relaxed very considerably soon after the election was over, and many wiseacres, whose wish is perhaps father to the thought, predict a return of Cox next fall. On the other hand, there was, and still is, a disposition to give the new administration an opportunity to "make good," as the phrase is. But consider the tremendous task the new authorities have to cope with. By no means a unit among themselves, with but little new money to make improvements, with the gang press piping merrily away, and the old organization bloody but by no means dead (it still owns the county government), they are treading the steep and thorny path of constructive work, and must show the people something done well before they can begin to hold their advantage.

The Attitude of the People.

During the early part of January came a thunderclap that threatened to wreck them at the threshold. Governor Pattison, elected with them, was the open candidate of the Anti-saloon League. Cincinnati is what is called a liberal town. For years laws against Sunday opening have been dormant on the books. The governor in his inaugural saw fit to declare that these laws must be rigidly enforced. His argument, generally speaking, is unanswerable to law-abiding citizens, and yet sane men at once recognized that if persisted in, the attitude of the governor would smash reform at once. The ministers, too, with ill-advised zeal, met together and demanded of the mayor enforcement of the governor's behest. But the mayor put off the evil day from week to week, the governor fell ill, seriously ill, and has remained bed-ridden ever since, so up to now that cloud has not burst and the people have forgotten it. Meantime the machine cunningly tried every expedient to get the mayor to close the saloons, and lost no time in making all the hay they could, and with no little success. But the cloud was kept from bursting by another event that has done more to disintegrate the forces of corruption than was ever before conceivable.

The Liquor Laws.

It has been said for years by lukewarm independents that no positive corruption could ever be fastened on the Republican leaders. The "Citizens' Bulletin," it is true, often complained

of mismanagement and even of stealing. It had complained of the inefficiency and degradation of the Bench, but always with the wariness consequent upon the lack of accurate information. It had charged the county treasurer with placing the millions belonging to the people out at interest with banks and pocketing the proceeds. This was denied vehemently by "respectable" people, especially by the "respectable" bank officers.

The Investigation.

In the early sessions of the new Legislature, after much struggle, it was possible to get appointed a legislative committee—a so-called "Lexow Commission"—to investigate Cincinnati affairs. The bill was submitted for approval to one of the city's leading lawyers, a man who had always professed to be ready to give his power to help thwart the gang. Every effort to check the passage of the bill was made by the organization, but without success. So the commission, handicapped though it was by lack of money, began its sessions. Three lawyers volunteered to conduct the examination—all honor to them for their industry and effectiveness. It took only one or two sittings to show to the people a most brazen, systematic scheme to fleece them out of their money. Every claim of the "Citizens' Bulletin" was sustained. It was proved that the county treasurer, for years back, had by highwaymen's methods stolen the interest on the deposits of the public moneys. It was shown that the respectable bankers were in the plot, and the only excuse offered by these men was that "it had always been the custom." It was shown that turnpikes had been acquired by the county at prices enormously above their true values, and by a process of legerdemain the overplus went, not to the turnpike owners, but to "an attorney" for his fees. It was shown that the three judges of the Appellate Court had obeyed a command of the boss to come to his den over a saloon and listen to his "hope that they would find it possible to reverse a certain decision" by which the city had recovered many thousands of dollars from a bonding concern represented by a notable gang lawyer.

The work of the committee is still going on, and it is making the camp-followers of the old organization drift away one by one. But many still hang on, waiting to see which way the

"cat will jump." The bankers and respectable business men are by no means overcome with shame—and the aforesaid leading lawyer who assisted in drafting the Lexow bill has taken employment with one of the banks to attack the legality of the commission, and the Court of first instance has already acceded to his plea. The county treasurers who were caught in the act have paid back their pilferings, but have escaped prosecution at the hands of the grand jury, whose report read very much as if it had been prepared by one of the aforesaid leading lawyers.

The Pilferings of the County Treasurers.

Now, you will ask what advantage is being taken of the opportunity for constructive reform organization? The Citizens' Municipal party, though I believe it and its friends were a most potent factor in molding public sentiment, cannot claim, nor would it choose to claim, any right to dictate the policy of the administration. It is willing to aid in every way it can, but it did not choose the ticket except to endorse as against the Republican machine. The administration numbers in its make-up, it is true, many who are loyal to the City Party idea; but there is no such solidarity of loyalty as to justify a marriage between the two.

The Dana law, which prevented the placing the names of candidates under more than one designation on the ballot, has been fortunately repealed. So that if events justify, the Citizens' Municipal party may be able, if either of the two national parties will next fall nominate fairly good tickets, to put its strength into the balance. The "Citizens' Bulletin" and the "Post" are keeping up the good fight, though it must be confessed that there has been no such speedy growth of the municipal idea as to justify the conclusion, just yet, that recruits will flock in in such number as to make the Citizens' party the tremendous force it would like to become. Money is very hard to obtain between campaigns—the time organization should go on—and men have not retained their post-election enthusiasm sufficiently to cause them to leave their respective band-wagons. In short, the bed of roses has not even sprouted for the reformers. The trouble is that the gang may mend just enough to get in again, and they may succeed through

The Ballot Law.

the sheer inability of the present administration — perhaps through no fault of its own—to " make good."

One more phase of the reconstruction work going on that will be of interest to the League and then I am done.

A Republican club, composed of young men, some of them officeholders, but more of them not so favored, had never quite been able, for various reasons, to make itself a power with the organization. Soon after the election a number of patriotic independent Republicans believing (the city being nominally Republican) that the only salvation lies in reform within the party, sought to capture that club. But they reckoned without their host. For every independent enrolled to membership, the machine shot in two gangsters, so that when votes were counted it appeared that an ex-Congressman, a henchman of Cox, was elected president, and gang sympathizers with him in the board. An address was issued prating of the duty of good Republicans to pluck out the oligarchy in the party and to return to the good old, open convention of the past. This, of course, is the machine in its new sheep's clothing. Following this little comedy, certain truly independent Republicans banded themselves together as a Roosevelt Club, pledging their faith to the rescue of the party from its parasites and destroyers. The new club makes up in enthusiasm what it lacks in numbers; but it is extremely doubtful in view of the condition of the still existing apathy of non-politician citizens whether it can make a place for itself in future Republican conventions. It will be known as a club of " bolters " anyway, and there seems to be good reason for regret that these men did not throw their undeniably great personal strength and counsel into the ranks of the Citizens' Municipal party, which stands committed to the principle of complete independence in city affairs from national politics. We have seen that " reform within the party " does not work out as well as some good men seem to think it may, without a workable merit system in force. The fight for that merit system in cities has got to come from without the national political parties, and the quicker we buckle down to the task of missionary work without political emolument, and the quicker we realize that this task must begin by

Reform within the Party.

breaking down political machines based on patronage at the disposal of national parties, the better for reform. And in my humble opinion the only hope lies in making it plain to the people that they must vote for men and not for birds.

While it is true that Cincinnati has gone through a cleansing process away from conditions that were more depressing than in any other American city, not excepting Philadelphia, I make no pretence that its problem in the type is different from that which the National Municipal League was organized to cope with. Our lessons from Philadelphia, Minneapolis, New York, Cincinnati, all point to the underlying need for the education of the voter on his personal moral side toward the precept that he must care for his city if he cares for himself, and that he must make sacrifices far beyond the mere brief suspension from the fruits of office incurred by efforts to "reform within the party."

This paper has taken a less optimistic turn than I intended, or than the whole situation, perhaps, warrants. The spirit of better things is abroad; the reformer walks with firmer step and hopes with greater fervor. But he may not yet strut about and crow aloud, for his most difficult work remains still to be planned, let alone accomplished.

The Revolution in Philadelphia.

By THOMAS RAEBURN WHITE, Esq., Philadelphia,
Counsel for the Committee of Seventy.

In the autumn of 1904 it seemed as if the corrupt so-called "Republican" organization in Philadelphia had effectually removed all concerted opposition to itself and was destined to pursue its depredations undisturbed for years to come. The "Union Party" had been "captured" by treachery, the Municipal League had decided that the work of reform could best be carried on by some new organization, and the "Democratic" minority had openly allied itself with the "Republican" freebooters, who parceled out to its members the "minority offices" and such other crusts as were needed to keep them in a conciliatory mood.

The Condition of Affairs in 1904.

Some of the citizens of Philadelphia, however, were dissatisfied with existing conditions, and on November 14th, 1904, a few public-spirited men, among whom were a number of members of the Municipal League, called a meeting to be held at the Philadelphia Bourse to devise ways and means for improving the city government. As a result of this meeting, and a subsequent one, held December 19, 1904, a "Committee of Seventy" was appointed, which was empowered to take such action as might seem expedient under a "plan" or constitution drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose. This "plan" contemplated the following work:

The Committee of Seventy.

"(*a*) Election of city officials (including election officers) devoted to the public interest, to be selected without regard to national party politics.

"(*b*) Protection of the ballot by the vigorous enforcement of the election laws, and by advocating measures looking to personal registration and a simple form of official ballot.

"(*c*) Encouraging and aiding faithful officials in the performance of their duties.

"(*d*) Gathering and disseminating reliable information regarding city affairs and candidates."

John C. Winston, one of the leading business men of Philadelphia, a publisher and manufacturer, was chosen as first chairman of the committee, which position he still holds.

After the organization of the Committee of Seventy but a few weeks remained before the municipal election of February, 1905. It had been stated in the "plan" that the primary policy of the committee should be to endorse candidates nominated by other parties rather than to make independent nominations, but power was given to make such nominations if it was deemed necessary. The committee promptly decided that the control of both the dominant and minority parties of the city of Philadelphia was so corrupt that nothing good could be expected from either of them, and a new party was therefore created. To this new political body the name "City Party" was given, the name being intended to express the idea which animates the citizens who have joined its ranks, that they shall act together in local matters for the good of their city, but they may retain their allegiance to the respective national parties to which they belong.

The February Election, 1905.

Fifteen city magistrates were to be elected. Each voter was privileged to vote for ten only, so that the minority party was entitled to elect five. As there was no reasonable hope of electing ten at that time, the City Party nominated only five candidates. It also nominated candidates for a few minor offices in ward and election districts in certain parts of the city. The campaign was conducted and financed by the Committee of Seventy, which investigated and made public, so far as it was able to do, in the short time at its command, the records of candidates nominated by other parties. Overtures were made by the Democratic party and a coalition suggested, but the committee decided to "go it alone." The contest for the five minority magistrates, therefore, was between the Democratic party and City party. The Demo-

The City Party.

cratic organization was subservient to, and in reality a part of the Republican organization, and entered into a conspiracy with it to defeat the City party's candidates for magistrates. That the conspiracy was formed at the headquarters of both parties has been proven by evidence given in some of the numerous ballot fraud cases which have recently been prosecuted. It was testified by a number of witnesses, and by some of the defendants who were on trial for ballot fraud, that orders were sent out from the Republican City Committee that fifty thousand votes should be deposited to the credit of the Democratic candidates for magistrates, in order that the Committee of Seventy, and the independent movement, might be nipped in the bud. As a result of this conspiracy fifty thousand votes, nearly all fraudulent, were placed to the credit of the Democratic magistrates, and they were elected by a large majority. Instead of having the result expected, however, this election only made the leaders of the reform movement more determined than ever, and incidentally it led to wholesale exposure of the infamous crimes against the ballot which had been committed for many years in Philadelphia.

Investigations of Ballot Frauds.

Immediately after the election was over the Committee of Seventy began the investigation and prosecution of ballot frauds, which work was continued throughout the spring and summer, and has not yet ceased, although so many cases are in the district attorney's office that it will be years before they can all be tried.

The first necessary step in the commission of ballot frauds as it has been carried on in Philadelphia is to record upon the official lists of voters large numbers of fictitious names. Pennsylvania had no law requiring the personal registration of electors, and the lists of voters were made up by officers called "assessors," elected under the dictation of the machine leaders and controlled by them. The assessors in many cases were ignorant or vicious men, who were content to receive a portion of the compensation and to allow the division leader to do the actual work of making up the lists. They were not obliged by law to see the voters whom they registered, but could accept the statements of

people in the houses which they visited, thus making it very difficult to convict for the offence of false registration. Lists of names of persons who were dead, removed, non-voters, or merely fictitious, were handed out to the assessors from cheap lodging-houses, saloons, gambling joints, disorderly houses and other places of ill repute. There were from sixty to eighty thousand of such names upon the lists in December, 1904.

The laws of Pennsylvania provide that wherever a ballot is deposited in the box, the name of the voter who cast it must be written in a certain record, called the "List of Voters," which is required by law to be deposited with the clerk of the court. It is therefore necessary that fraudulent names shall be placed upon the "assessor's" list so that they can be copied in this book when fictitious ballots are placed in the ballot-box. To explain the methods by which ballot fraud was committed two typical cases may be referred to, one in the notorious Fourteenth Ward, the other in the respectable Fifteenth Ward, a residential part of the city.

The Fourteenth Ward Case.

In the Fourteenth Ward case, Thomas H. Hartman, Jr., the division leader and a very respectable man, who had for a number of years occupied the position of elevator inspector at a salary of twelve hundred dollars a year, William Reagan and Charles Judge, inspectors of election, and Benjamin Williams, a clerk, were tried and convicted, Williams being sentenced to one year and the others to two years imprisonment and $500.00 fine. Edward McCaffrey, the assessor, who was arrested with the others, died before the trial, he being one of some eight or ten persons whose deaths within the past few months have been caused or hastened by exposure of political crimes of which they have been accused.

The evidence at the trial showed that on the Sunday before the election, the judge of election, a man who was not admitted into the confidence of the others, under the direction of the division leader, Hartman, took the blank ballots to the house in which the polling place was located, and left them there. On that day two hundred of these ballots were marked according to the instructions of the Republican City Committee, in such a way as to throw the full strength of two hundred votes to the five Demo-

cratic magistrates. As each voter was entitled to vote for ten magistrates, the other five votes on each ballot were thrown alternately to the first five and the last five names on the Republican ticket, so that all might receive the same vote. These ballots were then put in the ballot-box and were there when the polls opened on Tuesday morning. After the polls had closed, the two inspectors abstracted the lists of voters from the room, and wrote in them the names of two hundred additional voters, taken from the assessor's list. The Commonwealth fully proved all these facts and the men were convicted. An interesting feature of the case was the boldness of the inspectors in writing the names of the fictitious voters in the order in which they appeared upon the list. This made detection almost certain, for the names of all legitimate voters are written in the order in which they appear at the polling place.

The Fifteenth Ward Case.

The other case referred to occurred in a section of the city where padding of the assessor's list cannot be extensively carried on, because of the fact that no disorderly houses are located in that neighborhood. The method resorted to was to count the City Party votes for the Republican candidates. The election officers placed the City Party votes in a pile with the Republican votes, most of them being upside down, so that they could not be easily identified by any watchers who were in the room. A very small number of votes were given to the City Party candidates to allay suspicion, and all the rest were counted for the Republicans. The judge and the inspectors who committed this crime were convicted and sentenced.

These two cases are similar to a very large number of others which have been brought. Over two hundred arrests have been made by the Committee of Seventy, and a much larger number of cases were investigated, in which sufficient evidence was not obtained to justify a prosecution.

Shortly after the February election, 1905, the "Organization" gave evidence that they were fearful of the new reform movement, and by reason of that fear committed two blunders which exposed their weakness and aroused the slumbering indignation of the people of Philadelphia to a degree not known in this gen-

eration. Seeing a possibility that the control of the administration of the city government might be wrested at least temporarily from their hands, they planned in their secret council chamber two master strokes. One of these was calculated to discount in advance the possible election of a mayor in 1907, and the other was intended to secure to them before it was too late the price of one of the few assets, in the form of a public franchise, yet remaining in Philadelphia.

The Rippers.

Near the close of the session of the General Assembly at Harrisburg two bills were suddenly introduced, providing that in cities of the first class, which means Philadelphia, the power to appoint and remove the heads of the departments of Public Safety, Public Works, Supplies, and Public Health and Charities, should be taken away from the mayor and vested in city councils. It is much more difficult for any reform party to elect a majority in councils than it is for it to elect a mayor. The complexion of councils cannot be changed until there has been a sustained and successful movement lasting several years, while a single wave of popular uprising can sweep a mayor into office. The purpose of the bills to preserve the control of these great departments, although the mayoralty were lost, becomes therefore clearly apparent. The new laws would also make it possible for the "Republican" organization to nominate a man of some character for mayor who would be likely to be elected and yet would be of little importance after he was in office. The Committee of Seventy, and many citizens who co-operated, protested vigorously against these bills, and went to Harrisburg to ask Governor Pennypacker to veto them, but he signed the one which seemed to Philadelphia to be most objectionable, that relating to the Department of Public Safety and of Public Works. There can be little doubt that such change was dangerous and wrong in principle—the executive whose duty it is to uphold and enforce the law was to be left powerless to perform his duties, since under its terms he would no longer be able even to control the police.

Even before these "Ripper Bills" were finally acted upon, an ordinance was introduced into city councils which has since been characterized as the attempted "gas steal." The Philadelphia

gas works are owned by the city. In 1897 they were leased to a private corporation, the United Gas Improvement Company, for a term of thirty years, the city reserving the right to terminate the lease in 1907 by paying to the company the sums, with interest, expended by it for improvements up to that time. In 1927 the gas works are to be returned to the city without cost.

The Gas Lease.

The new ordinance provided for a new lease to the United Gas Improvement Company, by the terms of which the city, for a consideration of $25,000,000, should surrender its right to terminate the existing lease in 1907 and to take back the gas plant in 1927, and should extend the lease unconditionally until 1980. It should also surrender its present right to receive a portion of the gas receipts, which, during the period of the lease yet to run, might have amounted to far more than $25,000,000. It was at once pointed out that the consideration, which under the present lease the city is entitled to receive, was more valuable than that to be paid by the United Gas Improvement Company under the terms of the new ordinance. In brief, the astounding proposition was that the city should accept for the new lease (immensely more valuable than the old) a compensation less than that which it was already entitled to receive. The price of gas to the consumer was to be irrevocably fixed at $1.00 per thousand feet until 1928, and at 90 cents thereafter until the termination of the lease. This was perhaps the real reason for the public indignation, the fact that this odious monopoly at these high figures was to be fastened upon the inhabitants for two generations beyond the term of the existing lease.

So soon as the people understood the fraud about to be perpetrated they rose in revolt. The Committee of Seventy demanded that the matter be delayed at least until other propositions for leasing the gas works could be prepared and submitted. A large number of mass meetings to denounce the "steal" were held and, frightened at the storm that had gathered about their heads, the Finance Committee, which had the matter under advisement, postponed it for two weeks and advertised that other bids would be received. The pretended concession to public opinion, however, was a mere farce. The nature of the advertisement, which

stated no particulars, and did not even specify the term of the lease, and the subsequent conduct of the Finance Committee showed that there never was any intention to seriously consider any other proposition. None other was considered, although one was submitted which, while not advantageous to the city, was much superior to the proposition of the United Gas Improvement Company. The Committee of Seventy demanded a right to be heard before the Finance Committee. A hearing was arranged and the Council Chamber was packed with interested citizens. Speeches were made on behalf of the people and by counsel representing the mayor, but it was like casting pearls before swine. Some of the councilmen endeavored to argue with the speakers, and in so doing disclosed that they were totally ignorant of the facts and figures set forth in the report of their sub-finance committee, although they were themselves members of this sub-committee and had signed its report. The sound of the speakers' voices was scarcely still before the report of the sub-finance committee, recommending a favorable report of the original proposition, was approved without a dissenting voice. The same afternoon councils passed finally the ordinance, with an amendment introduced at the eleventh hour, providing for a slight reduction in the price of gas to the consumer.

As soon as the ordinance had passed councils, interest was transferred to the mayor. If he should veto the ordinance the gas works might yet be saved. The mayor announced almost immediately that he would do all in his power to defeat the infamous proposition, and the citizens then turned their attention to efforts, all but hopeless, to frighten or compel the necessary one-third of the councilmen of each chamber to sustain the mayor's veto. Councils had on numerous previous occasions contemptuously passed ordinances over the mayor's veto, without a dissenting voice. It was feared by many that the same result would follow in this case, but on May 22d an event happened which changed the entire complexion of the affair.

When John Weaver became mayor of the city he named as the Director of the Department of Public Safety, David J. Smyth, and as Director of the Department of Public Works, Peter E. Costello. These two appointments were understood to have been

Mayor Weaver's Removals.

dictated by the politicians, and were a disappointment to the mayor's friends. It was very soon apparent that the fears as to the fitness of these men were well founded. There was much criticism of the administration because of its failure to suppress the so-called "white-slave" traffic, and because of an alleged alliance between the police department and the social evil. The Department of Public Works also came in for its share of criticism, although the evils there appealed less to the public imagination, and therefore attracted less attention. For many months the public had been demanding that the mayor should take action. A grand jury reported to the court that the social evil flourished under the protection of the police department, and cited evidence upon which it recommended that action be taken. Nothing was done, however, and churches and societies and even town meetings took up the question and demanded the dismissal of the Director of Public Safety. The mayor, however, took no action, and in despair a committee of ministers called a public meeting to pray for him that he might be led to do his duty. Even the power of prayer, however, seemed to be of no avail and the excitement gradually subsided.

It was quite apparent, however, and had been for some months, that the mayor was displeased with the work of these two officials, as they had on several occasions exhibited a tendency to be disloyal to him and to take orders from the "Republican" leaders, who were daily becoming more and more dictatorial, and impatient of the mayor's differences with them on certain public questions. The position of the mayor during these months was a peculiarly trying one. The members of his political family were bringing discredit upon his administration, but if he dismissed them it meant open war with the men who had made him mayor.

On the 22d of May, however, the Monday following the passage of the gas ordinance on Thursday, the mayor acted. The removal of Smyth and Costello would enable him, through his new directors, to control directly the patronage of those two departments and thus to bring immense pressure to bear on recalcitrant councilmen. He demanded the resignation of these two

men, and also of Assistant Director of Supplies, Morrow, who also had actively opposed the mayor in the matter of the gas lease. The resignations were sent in to take effect upon the qualification of their successors in office. The mayor, after advising with counsel, demanded unconditional resignations within two hours on pain of dismissal. This the directors refused to give and they were accordingly dismissed. Colonel Sheldon Potter, a lawyer and a member of the Committee of Seventy, was immediately appointed Director of Public Safety; Mr. A. Lincoln Acker, a business man of unquestioned ability and integrity, was made Director of Public Works. These two men had scarcely entered upon the duties of their offices when they were enjoined by a Common Pleas Court, at the application of the dismissed officials, from the further exercise of their official functions. It was contended that the dismissal was illegal. The injunction was not a reinstatement of Smyth and Costello, but they evidently thought it to be such, for they assumed to regain possession of their offices and books. The mayor then descended upon them with a bevy of detectives and ordered them to leave at once on pain of arrest. He then left officers to guard the offices until a few hours later, when the Supreme Court granted a supersedeas suspending the operation of the injunction until the case could be argued. The two new directors then entered upon the performance of their duties and were not again disturbed.

The People Aroused.

While these stirring events were taking place in the City Hall the agitation against the lease went on all over the city. Mass meetings were held in many wards and a monster assembly in the Academy of Music, under the auspices of a special citizens' committee, where scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm were enacted. The huge hall was crowded to the doors and thousands were turned away. Flags were distributed, the songs of the nation were sung, and the very air seemed charged with patriotic fervor. The mayor's vigorous action had thrilled the entire city with enthusiasm and Philadelphia breathed again the air of freedom from boss rule.

Meanwhile delegations of citizens were arguing, entreating

and demanding of individual councilmen that they pledge themselves to sustain the mayor's veto. One by one, under the influence of public indignation, they came over to the mayor's side, until it became evident that the ordinance could not be passed over his veto. The "leaders" therefore acknowledged the first defeat in many long years and obtained a letter from Thomas Dolan, president of the United Gas Improvement Company, stating that he would not accept the lease should it be passed.

Meanwhile the mayor had caused the arrest of Councilman Caven on the charge of being interested in city contracts. The charge in itself was comparatively unimportant, but the facts developed at the hearing were of the very greatest importance, for it was shown that the "Republican Organization" leader, I. W. Durham, was a secret member of the contracting firm of D. J. McNichol & Company, who had monopolized city contracts for some years, and had made enormous profits therefrom.*

Arrests for Corruption.

The effect of the exposure upon the public mind was very great.

Furthermore, as a direct result of it the mayor caused other arrests to be made. This firm of D. J. McNichol & Company had several large contracts, aggregating several million of dollars, for the construction of a great filtration plant, the building of a long conduit a hundred feet or more underground, and the laying of a great system of pipe lines. It developed that these contractors had not only been favored in that they had obtained these contracts frequently when they were not the lowest bidders, but that they appeared to have been overpaid in many instances. It was charged that John W. Hill, chief engineer in charge, had made possible these over-payments by making false certifications of the amount and character of the work which had been done. He was arrested on the technical charge of forgery and was subsequently indicted, but was acquitted by direction of the court at his trial which took place early in January, 1906.

The mayor also caused the arrest of a former director of public safety and several other persons on the charge of conspiracy

* Caven has since been acquitted of this charge.—T. R. W.

to defraud the city in the matter of the erection of a municipal hospital. This trial has not yet taken place.*

During the campaign, and at various times thereafter, charges were made that the members of the firm of D. J. McNichol & Company were guilty of conspiracy with a former director of public works and the chief engineer, Mr. Hill. The evidence relating to this matter was collected at the mayor's instance, but the arrests were not made. The mayor and his counsel took the position that the arrests should be made by the district attorney. The latter declined to do so, alleging that no public exigency had arisen which required him to act on his own motion. The public, not appreciating the fine distinctions drawn by warring counsel and suspecting that an effort was being made to shield one or more of those accused, became impatient and demanded action. The Committee of Seventy asked the mayor the direct question, whether or not he intended making the arrests. The reply was a published statement that he would go no further in the matter. The district attorney then publicly reiterated his position, hinted that the evidence, in his judgment, was not sufficient to justify the issuance of warrants, but stated in a public letter that if the Committee of Seventy would refer the evidence to its counsel, should be advised by them that the vidence to its counsel, should be advised by them that the evidence was sufficient, and would cause warrants to be issued, he would co-operate before the magistrate and would vigorously prosecute the cases. The Committee of Seventy accepted this plain duty and passed the following resolution:

The District Attorney's Attitude.

"WHEREAS, The Mayor has been advised by special counsel that evidence in his possession of conspiracy to defraud the City, arising out of the filtration contracts, is sufficient to warrant criminal proceedings, but that it is not the Mayor's duty to initiate such proceedings, such duty devolving upon the District Attorney, who has declined to undertake the same; and,

"*Whereas*, The District Attorney, while declaring that it is not within his province to initiate any such proceedings, has pub-

* This trial took place in June, 1906, and resulted in an acquittal.

licly stated it to be his intention vigorously to prosecute the same should they be initiated by any one else; and,

"*Whereas*, This creates a situation where persons responsibility accused of grave public offenses are liable to go unwhippd of justice, because of a conflict of opinion between public officers, now be it

"*Resolved*, That if the evidence upon which these charges are based is furnished in full to this Committee, it will submit the same to its regular counsel, with the addition of special counsel retained for this purpose, and if advised that it is sufficient to warrant criminal prosecutions, will take the necessary steps to initiate the same."

The Committee then immediately engaged special counsel who are now engaged in making an examination of the evidence.*

During the summer of 1905 the Committee of Seventy proceeded to thoroughly organize the City Party, and by the beginning of September its organization had been extended into every section of the city. At a mass meeting held a few weeks before the November election the mayor publicly stated that he would support the City Party and its ticket as against the Organization. This gave a great impetus to the reform movement, and a whirlwind campaign ensued, which resulted in the complete defeat of the Organization in the election of the 7th of November.

The November Campaign.

This campaign was notable for the deep feeling that was aroused in every class of citizens. It was like a wave of religious fervor. Everybody, high and low, felt the call of duty and actively enlisted in the cause of reform. It is necessary for non-property owners to pay a voluntary poll-tax in order to render themselves eligible to vote. This poll-tax must be paid thirty days before the election. Usually persons who appear at the office to pay such taxes are very few and far between. This time long lines were waiting every morning when the doors of the office opened and the rush continued all day long. Many thousands of citizens who had not voted for years besieged the office of the Committee

* The Committee's counsel subsequently reported that while the evidence showed an abuse of discretion on the part of city officials, it was not of such a character as to warrant criminal prosecutions.—T. R. W.

of Seventy to learn how they could render themselves eligible. It was indeed a revolution and the spirit of war-times was in the air. Great was the rejoicing when the forces of evil were overthrown.

This was the first honest election which had occurred in Philadelphia for many years. The preceding summer had been devoted in large part by the Committee of Seventy, in co-operation with the Police Department, to striking fictitious names from the assessors' lists. This work involved repeated canvassing of the most dangerous neighborhoods of the city, often at great personal risk on the part of the canvassers, followed by concerted action to compel the assessors to do their duty. By this means from fifty to sixty thousand fraudulent names were stricken off. The prosecution of election officers also had a salutary effect upon these officials, so that there were but few cases of fraud, although several—one at least of especial boldness, involving the substitution of one ballot-box for another—were detected and punished.

Not less notable than the victory in Philadelphia was the election of Berry, a Democrat, as state treasurer. This, while not a local matter, directly affected Philadelphia, in that it acted upon the minds of the members of the General Assembly and caused them to "see a new light." This was demonstrated by their willingness to vote for reform measures affecting Philadelphia, which were enacted at the special session of the Legislature. This special session was called by Governor Pennypacker shortly after the November election to repeal the "Ripper" bill and to enact laws on the subjects, among others, of personal registration and "corrupt practices." The reform committee saw that a great opportunity was presented to them to secure legislation on other subjects as well, and the governor was urged to issue a supplemental call so that laws on the subject of uniform primaries and civil service might be enacted. This the governor, after further consideration, consented to do, and he accordingly included these subjects in his call by a supplemental proclamation. A non-partisan committee on election code was immediately formed, consisting of representatives from the Republican party, Democratic party,

The Committee on Election Code.

City Club of Philadelphia, Committee of Seventy of Philadelphia, Board of Trade of Scranton, Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburg, Wilkesbarre Board of Trade, and Electoral Reforms Committee of Pennsylvania. This committee was continuously at work from the middle of November until the last of January, and drew two very complete bills on personal registration and uniform primaries; it went before the Election Committee at Harrisburg on several occasions, and the bills drawn by it were ultimately passed with no amendments of serious consequence. The expenses of this Committee were paid by the Committeee of Seventy.

The Civil Service Reform Association drew a strong civil service bill for the city of Philadelphia, a bill to keep office-holders out of politics, and one to prevent the assessment of office-holders, all of which were passed substantially as drawn.

One of the most remarkable effects of the November campaign was the change of heart of the Legislature at Harrisburg. A year ago it contemptuously buried in committee a civil service bill and a personal registration act, neither of which was as radical as the laws which were passed without a murmur at the special session. The whole attitude of the members was an illustration of the philosophy of politicians. They know when they are beaten, and while they will put on the most brazen effrontery so long as they have the majority, they are quick to respond when defeat is their portion, and, as in this case, will swallow almost any kind of a reform dose without a grimace. The reformers were quick to see their advantage and they did not neglect their opportunity. In fairness it should be said, however, that the main body of the legislators at Harrisburg are honest at heart, and they were glad of the opportunity to exercise a free choice, and it was for many of them perhaps the first time in their official careers.

Reform Legislation.

It is safe to say that such important reform legislation, constituting so great an advance over existing conditions, has never been passed in so short a time in the history of any state in the Union. The new laws are, in many respects, more drastic in their provisions than the laws of any state, and this is the more remarkable in

view of the fact that on some subjects legislated upon Pennsylvania had no previous laws dealing at all adequately with the question.

The laws in the order of their importance are:

First. The Personal Registration Act, which is more complete and more searching in its identification of the voter than the law of any other state.

Second. The Uniform Primaries Act, which redeems Pennsylvania from the vicious system in existence for so many years, by which candidates were nominated in secret by the authority of the bosses and without any action whatever on the part of the people.

Third. A strict Civil Service Law for the city of Philadelphia. This bill was drawn by the Civil Service Reform Association, and will unquestionably have the effect of divorcing the ten thousand office-holders from much of the political power which they now exercise.

Fourth. A Corrupt Practices Act, which, by requiring the publication of expenses relative to election campaigns and prohibiting the contribution of corporate funds, will greatly reduce or abolish corruption incident thereto.

Fifth. A law prohibiting the activity of office-holders in politics, which goes even to the extent of preventing not only city office-holders in the usual sense of the word, but even police officers, from being present at the polling place except to cast their ballots, and from electioneering in any way.

To one who is unfamiliar with the conditions of the election laws in Pennsylvania, previously existing, it is not easy to understand what a tremendous advance these laws constitute. It is no exaggeration to say that in the city of Philadelphia there has not been an election in which the majority governed for many years. These laws will restore once more to the people the powers of sovereignty which rightfully belong to them, and it is believed will prevent so-called political leaders from manipulating elections in the future as they have in the past. The work of the special session is the really notable thing which has been accomplished, and even now it is difficult for those of us who live in Philadelphia to realize that these laws have actually been passed and are now standing upon the statute books.

Appointments under the New Laws.

The Committee of Seventy after the laws were enacted immediately took up the question of the appointment of proper registration commissioners, as well as of civil service commissioners for the city of Philadelphia. The civil service commissioners have been appointed by the mayor and are very satisfactory; two of its members were formerly members of the Committee of Seventy.* We hope that similar appointmnts of registration commissioners for the city of Philadelphia will be made by the governor, for it is realized that the success or failure of the personal registration law will depend, to a very great extent, upon the personnel of the new commissioners. We believe that at least two of them, enough to prevent any improper action, will be men thoroughly familiar with the subject of municipal reform both past and present.†

The Overseer's Case.

Just prior to the February election the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Overseer's case, which had been appealed by the Committee of Seventy, and which was a great victory for the cause of honest elections. The Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania provide that upon petition overseers of election shall be appointed in election districts where it is suspected fraud may be contemplated. The lower courts in Philadelphia had for many years construed these laws as merely giving them the power to appoint upon petition but not requiring them to do so. The Supreme Court, on appeal, decided that the law is mandatory, and henceforth when it appears that fraud will be attempted, officers competent to protect the ballot can always be obtained.

* The rules of the Committee provide that its members shall neither hold nor be a candidate for any public office. Its members, therefore, resign if appointed to any office.

† These appointments subsequently made are very satisfactory. The chairman of the board is Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., the secretary of the National Municipal League. He has brought to the work a large fund of both practical and theoretical knowledge, and the work of the Commissioners has thus far been very efficiently conducted. The other members are J. Henry Scattergood, who at the time of his appointment was a member of the Committee of Seventy, John Cadwalader, Jr., and George G. Pierie.—T. R. W.

Shortly after the special session adjourned, the February election occurred, at which certain unimportant municipal officers were elected and at which election officers all over the city of Philadelphia, as well as elsewhere, were chosen. The importance of the election of good officers to supervise the elections cannot be overestimated; and a very great advance was made in this regard. A startling feature of this election, and indeed one of the most notable and striking incidents of the whole revolution, was the fact that although there was no excitement at this election, although there was no contest whatever for city offices, as both candidates for magistrates were necessarily to be elected under our system of minority representation, nevertheless the City Party was victorious over the Republican Organization by more than ten thousand majority. The percentage of stay-at-home vote was much larger in February than in November, and it is fair to assume that these stay-at-homes were mostly City Party votes. A further fact in connection with the February election, which will be referred to more particularly later on, was that a considerable body of politicians, who had co-operated with the City Party at the November election, were in many wards working against the City Party and with the old Republican Organization in the February election. Their defection, however, was not only powerless to change the result, but actually resulted in additional strength to the City Party.

The February Election.

This brings the narration of the events of the last eighteen months down to date. There is, however, one thing which ought to be said before this paper is closed, and that is to call attention to the extraordinary and astonishing growth of the idea of non-partisanship in municipal affairs which has taken place in Philadelphia within the past eight months. Even after the mayor courageously broke with the Republican Organization by the dismissal of his directors, surrounded as he was by an advisory board of the best and ablest men in the city, nevertheless neither he nor they were at that time of the opinion that a City Party formed upon non-partisan lines could possibly succeed in the city of Philadelphia. It was not until it was quite apparent that there could be no co-

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operation on reasonable terms with the Republican party that the mayor finally turned to the City Party and offered them his assistance. Even then a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the mayor's advisors and the candidates to be nominated by the City Party convention were suggested in advance, the thought then being uppermost in the minds of many persons close to the administration that the candidates ought not to be named as City Party candidates, but as Republican candidates, nominated by an independent wing of the party.

There was also a considerable body of politicians temporarily "out of it" who believed the success of the City Party could not be permanent, and who, instead of joining its ranks, organized an independent co-operative movement, calling themselves "administration Republicans." The methods of these persons were not such as to bear scrutiny, and their real assistance to the result of the election was much less than they imagined. After the election was over they turned their attention to gaining control of the Republican "Organization," which they accomplished by "persuading" some of the most venal members of the committee to "come out for reform," and by the use of criminal and brutal methods at the Republican primary elections.

Upon the reorganization of the Republican City Committee, the "reformers" were in control. The chairman read a long, foolish letter of "repentance," which deceived nobody, and ended by inviting twenty-five carefully selected members of the reform party to a conference, with a view to the construction of new rules for the Republican party and looking to the co-operation of the reformers with it. It was then that the real strength of the independent movement was disclosed. Angry protests came from all over the city, and the Committee of Twenty-five rejected the proposal in a caustic letter which warned the City Committee that they were not desired "to be good, but to be gone."

The Reorganization of the Republican Committee.

So earnest are the City Party men in their determination not to permit their organization to be weakened that they have rejected all "entangling alliances" even with friendly state parties, believing that the City Party can best be preserved intact by

leaving its members to follow their own parties in national and state matters.

This political situation has been gone over somewhat in detail, to make clear the fact that in the city of Philadelphia, which is, perhaps, the most partisan city in the world, the normal Republican majority being simply enormous, and in which the people cling so closely to their allegiance to national parties that it has heretofore been almost impossible to induce them to take any independent action, there has been a complete revolution of sentiment in this regard. There is in Philadelphia at this time a compact veteran organization of more than one hundred thousand voters, men of independent thought and action, who are not only willing, but determined, to act independently of party in city affairs. It has been clearly demonstrated that these men cannot be turned aside by the specious arguments of politicians. They are determined to think for themselves, and have in many cases acted contrary even to the orders sent them by their own City Committee where such orders were opposed to their own judgment.

Until recently in municipal fights in Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere, the reformers have won by joining with the minority party to elect its candidate. Such combinations cannot last more than one or two campaigns, because the adherents of the majority party will not act with the minority party when state or national issues are at stake. The city party idea, however, is to have an organization composed of the best men of every party, who shall act together within the limits of the city, but who are left entirely free to retain their allegiance to their respective parties in state and national matters. A majority of the people in every city are in favor of good municipal government; the great problem has been to get them to act together. I believe that we have solved the problem in Philadelphia, and I expect to see the method which we have adopted speedily tried in the other principal cities of this country. I see no reason why such a party should not be permanent, and I think the victory in Philadelphia marks a great advance, not only for that city but for the cause of municipal reform in the United States.

The City Party Idea.

The Committee of Seventy has undertaken to see that the new personal registration law, civil service law, uniform primaries law, corrupt practices act, etc., are rigidly enforced. It will make an examination of the character of officers who are appointed to do the registering; it will keep a close watch over the performance of contracts made with the city, and will inform the public as to whether the public officers are doing their duty. It has also actively enlisted its members in the work of obtaining still more legislation. A new ballot law must be enacted; a new criminal court must be established; a gas and electric light commission, and a similar commission to oversee the building of rapid transit lines, with power to regulate rates, are needed; the city of Philadelphia itself is badly in need of reapportionment into wards, as all parts of the city are not properly represented in councils.

The Committee of Seventy.

The Committee of Seventy has strong financial backing, has become thoroughly organized and acquainted with its work, is composed of men who cannot be swerved from the path of duty, either by threats or by the arguments of political tricksters, and whose integrity is above question. The continued existence of such a committee, with such purposes and with such power, will, we believe, contribute much to the improvement of the government of Philadelphia, particularly when it is remembered that in cooperation with this committee there is a large body of independent voters who are capable of carrying a city election.

The opportunity for securing and maintaining a righteous city government in Philadelphia is far better than ever before; with constant vigilance we promise that it shall never again be as bad as it has been, and we intend that in future it shall be far better than it now is.

Mr. Hearst, running also on an independent ticket, failed of election, indicate an almost unprecedented breaking away from party dictation. The facts of the campaign are so well known that I will comment on only a few of the more permanent results.

(1) The impetus to the movement for municipal ownership given by the success of the Hearst campaign. On what was probably the most radical platform that ever won out in this city Mr. Hearst carried the Borough of Brooklyn, seating Bird S. Coler for four years as Borough President, and failed by less than 4,000 votes to carry the entire city. That Hearst so nearly won, with all his handicaps, indicates a condition to which the politicians are keenly alive and which demands most careful and unprejudiced consideration from those who are disinterestedly trying to improve city conditions. The Hearst uprising indicates the presence of a large voting body which has been disgusted, if not enraged, at the exactions of the public service corporations and is ready to turn to any new source for relief. Neither of the old parties is trusted, for the abuses complained of seem to this element to have gone on alike under Republican, Democratic or Fusion administrations. Municipal ownership promises relief, and it is doubtful if the demand for it will lose its force until a trial has been made with some of our public utilities. The influence of the Hearst movement upon the politicians has shown itself chiefly in the State Legislature. Many members of both parties, elected presumably as conservatives, are beginning to see a great light. They insist they always did believe that there was reason for this or that radical policy which, a few months ago, they would have branded as socialism. It is under the influence of this sort of reasoning that gas legislation, defeated a year ago, passed both houses this year, with hardly a member who voted against it in 1905 daring to stand by his original position. This feeling is, of course, most apparent now, in anticipation of the coming State election in November; after that time its real strength can be more accurately measured.

1905 Election.

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(2) The second permanent result of the campaign of 1905 is the demonstration it gave of the complicated character of our

election laws, ingeniously contrived to hinder independent nominations and independent voting. The absurdity of indirect nominations through conventions has never been demonstrated in so spectacular a way as by the position in which the Republican party in the city found itself when an overwhelming public sentiment within the party repudiated its convention's handiwork and demanded the substitution of Jerome for the man named by it for district attorney. Such a substitution proved to be impossible legally, and every man therefore, Republican or Democratic, who voted for Jerome had to split his ticket—a step which had been so hedged about with opportunities for technical violation of the law and the consequent invalidating of the ballot that it had rarely before been used to any important extent. Thousands of dollars were spent by the Jerome campaign managers in street-car, bill-board and newspaper advertising, to explain to the voters how a vote might be split, while all of the speakers were obliged to include similar explanations in their addresses.

Electoral Reforms Needed.

The natural result of such a campaign was a spontaneous demand for a revision of our ballot laws, and the prospect seemed bright that at last we were to have the reform which had been fought for for years by the City Club and other organizations. It is humiliating, however, to be obliged to record practical failure. If the admirable bills prepared by the newly-formed Election Laws Improvement Association had been ready and the Legislature had been in session last November they would undoubtedly have been made into law, but the public very quickly loses its indignation in matters of administration, and ballot reform seems likely to be sacrified to the fear of Republican leaders lest any change in the voting system may cost the party its control of the State in the coming election. A series of well-conceived Corrupt Practices amendments seem to have shared the same fate.

(3) A third result of the election of 1905 is a judicial decision on the right of a candidate to compel the opening of ballot-boxes for the purpose of a recount. Rumors of fraud were so universal immediately after election day that a recount became imperative. This was begun a few days later, when the void bal-

lots were recounted with no results materially affecting the issue. A beginning was then made in the recounting of ballots accepted as valid when a decision was given by the Court of Appeals that no right existed whereby the boxes of accepted ballots might be opened and the ballots recounted, except through *quo warranto* proceedings on the part of a contesting candidate. This stopped the entire process for the time being and attention was turned to the Legislature, which, of course, by subsequent enactment might explicitly establish the right denied by this decision, and might even make the provisions of such an act apply to the recount which had been interfered with. A bill accomplishing this was favorably reported by an Assembly Committee a few weeks ago. Its chance of passage is very slight, however, and Mr. Hearst has, therefore, begun *quo warranto* proceedings, the results of which, in view of the opportunities for delay this process offers, may not be known for some months.

Opening of Ballot-boxes.

In the steps taken to provide the city with its supply of water for twenty-five years in advance, New York has undertaken what is probably the greatest and most important engineering work ever attempted by any municipality—if importance is measured by the amount of money involved. On October 27, 1905, the Board of Estimate adopted plans for this extension of the city's water supply, which, it is estimated, will cost $161,857,000, nearly as much as the estimated cost of the Panama Lock Canal.

Water Supply.

The ultimate solution of the problem is interesting to students of municipal administration because of several more or less novel administrative features, described later, which have undoubtedly gained considerable favor because of their adoption in connection with this great public work.

The need of speedy action in this matter has been recognized for at least a dozen years, and the facts necessary for such action had been secured before Mayor McClellan came into office in January, 1904, through the investigation of an expert commission, headed by Professor William H. Burr, of Columbia University. But it was not until a year later that the mayor gave any public indication of his attitude in the matter. This delay

proved to be due to the fact that he did not believe a public work of such magnitude, estimated to cover certainly ten and probably fifteen years, ought to be carried on by the officials of a city department changing more or less every two years (which was then the length of our city administration) and subject to all the weaknesses of political administration. The mayor's answer, therefore, to the demand made on him for action, was a bill introduced in the Legislature, at his request, early in January, 1905, providing that the work of furnishing the city with the water it needed should be carried on by a new body—a permanent local board. A majority of the joint organizations supported this bill, which was passed by the Legislature after a hard struggle. A compromise in the shape of a supplementary bill providing for the appointment of a general State Commission in addition to the local commission was, however, found necessary, in order to gain the votes of the up-State members of the Legislature, who feared that their local sources of water supply, as well as the water power used for their mills, would be endangered if the New York City Board had unrestricted rights in this regard, as given to it in the original form of the bill.

Water Legislation.

The resulting situation is a little complex, but in general satisfactory, and, in the opinion of the writer, is a fair solution of a knotty administrative problem. The plans of the local board must have the approval both of the Board of Estimate and of the State Board of Water Supply before work may be begun. Governor Higgins appointed high-grade men as members of the State Board, including in the number Dr. Ernst J. Lederle, health commissioner under ex-Mayor Low; and the present satisfactory condition is due, to a considerable degree, to the fair attitude of the State Commission toward the opposing interests of which it is arbiter.

An important change was made in the mayor's bill before its passage. The bill as originally drawn contained the rather unusual provision that the mayor must select the three members of this board (who were each to receive $12,000 a year salary) from names presented to him by three local business and professional organizations named in the bill. This "non-partisan"

method of appointment was removed, however, after the governor's counsel had given his opinion that this provision was unconstitutional. Because of this change a majority of the joint organizations withdrew their support, believing that the work could be just as well done by the appropriate city department as by a board whose members could be appointed, if any mayor chose, in the same political manner as the heads of city departments. Mayor McClellan, however, clung to the purpose which had led him to include the "non-partisan" provision in his bill, by actually following the method of appointment that would have been required had the bill retained its original provision on the subject. The three business organizations named in the bill were asked to submit names to the mayor, and on June 9, 1905, he appointed the three members of the board from the lists so submitted. The Board's appointments of engineers and professional experts have been of a very high order, Mr. John Freeman, a member of the Burr Commission and one of the leading experts of the country, having been appointed Chief Consulting Engineer. The Board is doing energetic and, on the whole, excellent work. Its plans, based largely on the report of the Burr Commission above referred to, have just received the approval of the State Board, and there is good prospect that this great undertaking is to be carried out in a manner which will be a credit to the city. The opportunities for scandal were great, but the enlightened civic spirit which is showing itself more and more in New York has prevented such a regrettable outcome.

The agitation of this question has resulted in a change in the Constitution of the State, which was very greatly needed. Under Article VIII, Section 10, no city can bond itself for more than 10 per cent. of the assessed valuation of its real estate. It is manifestly absurd to include revenue-producing bonds in this calculation, and an amendment was, therefore, submitted to the voters of the State last November and carried, which specifically exempts bonds issued for the purpose of constructing works for supplying municipalities with water. An attempt has been made in the Legislature this present winter to pass an amendment making this exemption cover all revenue-producing bonds—a most desirable extension of the principle and one which cannot be long delayed.

After years of patient submission to the monopoly which controls its supply of gas and electric light, New York has finally rebelled, and, after a fight of over a year and a half, has apparently won out. For this, in the first instance, the city has ex-Mayor Low to thank, for it was his commissioner of water, gas and electricity, Robert Grier Monroe, who in the first instance brought to public attention the enormous imposition of the monopoly's rates for gas and electric light. Believing that the price charged the city for lighting its streets and public places was unfair, Commissioner Monroe refused to renew contracts previously made, justifying his decision by detailed statistics showing the price of gas and electricity in other large cities of the country similarly circumstanced in relation to their supply of coal, etc. The companies, however, continued to furnish the city's light and brought suit for the payment of the bills which the Commissioner had refused to approve. This deadlock was carried on into the McClellan administration, but was little noticed until late in November, 1904, when the citizens of New York were amazed to learn that the new Commissioner, John T. Oakley, under most suspicious circumstances, had signed contracts for public lighting on terms scarcely any better than those refused by Commissioner Monroe. This disclosure caused great excitement, and immediately upon the opening of the Legislature in 1905 a flood of bills was introduced, some providing for the establishment of a municipal lighting plant by the city, and others fixing the price of gas and electricity at figures more or less below those at present legally established.

Lighting.

The Legislature ultimately decided upon an investigating committee. This committee, of which Senator Frederick Stevens was chairman, engaged as its counsel Mr. Charles E. Hughes, under whose able direction a most searching inquiry was made. Bills based upon the committee's recommendations were presented to the Legislature near the close of its session, providing that the public and the city alike should pay not more than 75 cents per 1000 feet for gas, and fixing for both a price for electricity considerably below the existing rate. These bills were all passed except that fixing the price of gas to the public, which was de-

feated under most suspicious circumstances in the Legislature, a majority of one, made up of both parties, combining to vote against it.

At the same time, however, a bill was passed providing for the appointment of a commission with powers of supervision over all lighting corportions in the State, and the additional and unusual power of investigating the character of the service and the reasonableness of the charges of such corporations and of regulating the rates charged within certain limits prescribed in the act. Anticipating that the commission might not fix a satisfactory price for gas, or that, if this were done, the constitutionality of the act might be questioned, Assemblyman Agnew introduced a bill in the Legislature early in the present session, which has now become a law, fixing the price of gas at 80 cents, in all except certain sparsely settled parts of the city. The same price has also been established in Manhattan by order of the Commission. This happy outcome is a great victory for the people. The companies have announced that they will contest the constitutionality of the law passed by the Legislature fixing the price of gas, but it does not seem probable that their contention will be upheld. In the meanwhile, unless restraining judicial orders are secured, the price of gas will become 80 cents per 1000 feet on the first of May next.

Lighting Commission.

An important administrative change has been accomplished during the past twelve months in regard to the granting of franchises. The franchise granting power has for a number of years been exercised jointly by the Board of Estimate and the Board of Aldermen. This latter body has long been thoroughly discredited, and its handling of franchise applications has been the source of repeated and serious scandals, these having been held up for months, and at times for more than a year, in a manner suggesting one thing only. Because of this abuse of its powers, a law was passed by the Legislature of 1905 placing the most important of these franchise powers entirely in the hands of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This law was secured largely through the efforts of transportation corporations whose

Aldermen and Franchises.

applications had been held up without explanation for long periods, but it was also supported by many of the civic organizations in the conviction that far better results, all things considered, would be secured under the change proposed. Other civic organizations, however, clinging to the theory that the Aldermen are peculiarly the representatives of the people, denounced the bill as a dangerous form of centralization, tending to create a bureaucratic form of government, and likely, therefore, in the end—because of the precedent established—to be the cause of more harm than good. The constitutionality of the law, has just been upheld by the Court of Appeals.

An immediate result of the passage of this act was a great increase in the number of applications for franchises, the conclusion being forced inevitably that the reason these had not been so numerous previously was the belief that no applications would have fair consideration when they reached the Board of Aldermen.

Coincident with the passage of this act a bill, drafted by the City Club, was passed making it obligatory for the Board of Estimate to advertise and give public hearings before taking final action on any franchises.

In this connection, attention should be called to the establishment of an important bureau in the office of the Comptroller—the Bureau of Franchises; and what is more important for immediate purposes, the appointment in charge of this bureau of a man, Harry R. Nichols, whose sole purpose seems to be to secure proper consideration of the side of the city in the matter of all franchise grants. Applications for franchises made to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment are now regularly referred to this bureau for investigation and report. These reports are printed and presented to the Board of Estimate, and may also be had upon application by outsiders who may be interested. The publicity of this procedure is a very great advance for the cause of good government. Seven reports of from 20 to 30 printed pages each have been made by this bureau since September 11, 1905. Each of these reports attempts to cover the complete franchise history of the petitioning corporation in so far as it is affected by the pending application of this corporation, with the

terms of its existing franchises, together with recommendations as to the terms which should be stipulated in the franchise to be granted. Although none of the franchises petitioned for since the Board of Estimate has had this power exclusively have yet been granted, because of the contest on the constitutionality of the act, it is safe to say that the city has never had so intelligent a policy in this regard, for, although the terms specified in the reports of the Bureau of Franchises may not be adopted in all respects, they stand as a matter of record, and are undoubtedly of very great weight in influencing the terms upon which the franchises will ultimately be granted, if granted at all by the Board.

Subways.

The success of the present subway, in spite of certain drawbacks, notably, at times, the unnatural state of the air, has been so generally conceded that public opinion is unanimous that all further rapid transit extensions within the built-up parts of the city must be of this character. The Rapid Transit Commission has, therefore, been actively at work planning for the city's future needs in this direction. Its large force of engineers has made the necessary surveys, borings, etc., and has prepared detailed plans covering about twenty different subway routes extending, in all, a distance of about 160 miles, and estimated to cost in the neighborhood of three hundred million dollars. These plans have now been formally approved by the Rapid Transit Commission and by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

The terms on which the contracts for these subways are granted is a matter of vital concern to our city, and has been the cause of one of the most bitter fights in this year's legislature. Space will not permit entering into a discussion of the intricacies of this fight, which has been intensified, on the one hand, by the merger of the two great traction systems in Manhattan—systems which had announced their intention of bidding against each other for the new subways—and on the other hand by the development of a strong sentiment in favor of municipal ownership and operation.

The present subway was constructed under the supervision of the Rapid Transit Commission, acting under the authority of a

special act, which laid down in considerable detail the powers of the Commission in relation to advertising and letting contracts both for construction and operation. Even before this subway was opened, however, it became apparent that big profits would be earned, and that the terms of compensation exacted were altogether below what they should have been. It is not fair, however, to criticise the members of the Rapid Transit Commission for this. The construction of the subway at all was accomplished only by the untiring efforts of these gentlemen in the face of continuous ridicule of any scheme for transit through a "hole in the ground," and in spite of local and constitutional obstacles thrown in their way. It is probable that if any more stringent terms had been exacted, capital could not have been induced to undertake the work. The success of the undertaking has, however, naturally caused a widespread demand that much better terms for the city be required in the letting of future contracts. In response to this feeling, a bill, drafted by representatives of the Citizens' Union and known as the Elsberg Rapid Transit Bill, has been introduced in the Legislature for four years in succession. It is about this bill, which is now before the mayor,* that the contest was waged. Among the provisions which are of interest to persons from outside New York City is that which appeared in the bill as first introduced, to the effect that contracts for construction must be advertised for and let separately from contracts for equipment and operation. This restriction on the powers of the Rapid Transit Commission was suggested in the belief that several bidders could be secured willing to undertake the construction of a subway, while probably only one bidder, the Interborough Company, controlling the present subway, is in a financial position to bid for both construction and operation. The provision in the minds of its advocates was a means to insure competition, and therefore better terms for the city. On the other hand, it was argued by those who opposed this change that if the corporation that dug the subway was obliged also to operate it, the result would be that as rapid work as possible would be done in order the sooner to

The Rapid Transit Commission.

* Became a law May 16, 1906.

enjoy the profits of operation, and as thorough work as possible in order to avoid damage charges which would result from accidents caused by careless work. The construction of the present subway seems to have justified this theory, for it was completed several weeks earlier than required by the contract, a most remarkable record when the experimental character of the work is considered.

This particular phase of the problem has been settled in what is probably a very satisfactory manner. The bill as amended no longer renders it obligatory on the Rapid Transit Commission, as under the old law, to let its contracts for construction and operation together, nor is the Commission obliged to let them separately. The decision in all cases is left to the discretion of the Board of Estimate and the Rapid Transit Commission. Beside being a victory for a sane, conservative policy of dealing with each case according to its attendant circumstances, it will be observed that this is a victory for municipal home rule, for it would have been the height of folly for the State Legislature to tie the hands of its local officials in a matter of this kind.

The bill also provides for the construction of galleries in future subways, to be used for sewer, water and gas pipes and for the various electric light wires. This provision has been very much opposed by the corporations which control the existing electric wire conduits, and its enactment into law will undoubtedly furnish the city with a powerful means by which to control the lighting situation in this city.

In the matter of city ownership and operation, the bill provides that in the event that unsatisfactory bids are received for the construction, equipment or operation of a subway, the city may itself undertake any or all of these functions. The city, therefore, has now an alternative, and it is argued in some quarters that its mere possession by the city will result in better terms being offered by the monopoly, which, under other conditions, would naturally assume that it had the city at its mercy.

The agitation in connection with this bill during the last four years and the hostility against the Rapid Transit Commission which has been aroused, have led to attempts to legislate it out of existence. This Commission is a body of eight men, made up

of the mayor, comptroller, and six other members named originally in the act to serve until their death or resignation, the Commissioners having the power to name their successors. Those who would abolish the Commission have argued that a body which is self-perpetuating, and therefore responsible at no point to the voters of the city, is entirely out of place in a democratic system of government. Compromising with this feeling, the Legislature incorporated an amendment in the Elsberg Bill which provides that, as the present members of the Commission resign or die, their successors shall be appointed by the mayor of the city. The Commission will now, therefore, gradually become responsible directly to the city administration.

New York has often been charged with provincialism—with a "nothing to learn from other cities" attitude—and I fear we must admit the truth of this charge. One result, however, of the annual meeting of the League held in our city last year, has been an increased interest in the way other cities—notably Chicago and Philadelphia—are solving the very problems we are obliged to face. The representatives of New York who are here to-day welcome, therefore, the reports from other cities which are being presented, and beg to express the hope that this brief mention of our own experiences may not be without value to others.

Portland, Maine, and Mayor Baxter.*

A city which possesses citizens interested in its true growth and prosperity may count itself happy and doubly happy if it possesses citizens who are willing to devote themselves personally to these ends.

Unfortunately in an age when men are struggling more strenuously than ever before for wealth, many who would otherwise recognize their public duties, are so engrossed in their own affairs, as to wholly lose sight of them, thereby leaving the field open to incompetent and selfish men to whom the public welfare is something of too abstract a nature to be considered, and to whom graft is ever so present a reality, as to be a legitimate object of ambition: thus communities suffer until conditions become so bad that the public is awakened, and a revolution is the result. These revolutions, however, while they purify the political atmosphere for a time, soon spend their force and old conditions again prevail. Such movements therefore fail to produce permanent results, which can only be attained by the well directed and persistent efforts of the best and wisest men in a community, and such results are worthy of such efforts.

It was for the purpose of stimulating such efforts by educating citizens in their public duties that the National Municipal League was organized, and the far-reaching results which it has already attained is the warrant for its continued existence.

In the course of its work it has had occasion to become acquainted with the civic condition of the principal cities of the Union, and, on several occasions, has been able to speak in terms of commendation of individuals, who, rising above selfish con-

* This account of Mayor Baxter's services was prepared at the request of the Secretary by one who had full knowledge of the facts and some connection with them, but who felt he could write more fully if permitted to write anonymously. The story is so stimulating that the Editor feels justified in making an exception in its favor.—The Editor.

siderations, have devoted their best energies to the public welfare. One of these cities is Portland, Maine, which has been particularly fortunate in possessing a citizen, who, more than any other man in his generation, has devoted himself in many ways to her welfare.

This citizen is James P. Baxter, who has attained much more than local fame by what he has accomplished. Founder of the Associated Charities of Portland, and Portland Society of Art and their long-time president: President of the Portland Public Library for which he erected a magnificent building of red freestone, and presented it to the city; President likewise of the Maine Historical Society; the New England Historic Genealogical Society; the Portland Savings Bank: the Portland Benevolent Society and other charitable organizations; overseer of Bowdoin College and six times Mayor of Portland; these are but a few of the interests, all of a public nature, to which he has devoted his time and talents; and speaking of the latter, the collegiate honors which have been bestowed upon him are evidences of their high character: though Mr. Baxter's historical works (the last of which, "The Life and Voyages of Jacques Cartier" published by Dodd, Mead & Company, and which has more than national fame, having been largely sold abroad) amply attest it.

James P. Baxter.

In 1893 a quiet but strong movement for civic reform began in Portland, which like many other cities had had too much boss rule, though not of that extreme sort which had come to public attention in larger cities, and Mr. Baxter was prevailed upon, though much against his wishes, having frequently refused public honors which had been tendered him, to accept a mayoralty nomination. The result was an election, and with him were elected to the City Council several business men of high character and ability. These men became his confidants and the supporters of his policies.

Manual Training.

One of the first public acts of Mayor Baxter upon entering office was to devote his salary to the introduction of manual training into the public schools. He had been interested for several years in such a school maintained in the Portland Fraternity, a benevolent institution

of which he was a director, and having seen the benefits accruing to the boys who availed themselves of its privileges, had determined, if possible, to extend these benefits to the pupils in the public schools. Of course there was opposition from the ultra conservative, but the Mayor established his school, which in a short time proved its right to existence, and to-day manual training is carried on by competent teachers in a building of its own, built and presented to the city by the trustees of an estate, one of whom was Mr. Baxter himself.

An incident, however, connected with this building is worth relating, as showing the pettiness of city politics. Mr. Baxter had labored for months to get his co-trustees interested in erecting a building for manual training. Finally plans were procured and submitted to the school committee, and when approved, bids were solicited, the lowest being $30,000. The offer was then made to the City Council to erect the building and present it to the city.

Mr. Baxter had already furnished a portion of the equipments and was to see that it was completely equipped without cost to the city. At this time certain political influences had become active against him, and the word was passed around to defeat everything which he advocated. He was becoming dangerously popular and had been an ever-present obstacle in the way of schemes. The result was that when the offer of the trustees came before the City Council a majority was found opposed to its acceptance, and it was rejected, one of the most extraordinary acts ever performed by a city government. The Trustees were therefore compelled to withdraw their generous offer, and the incident was closed.

But public opinion begun to have its effect, and some months later, Mr. Baxter being no longer Mayor, one of the members of the Council, who voted adversely to the gift, frankly stated to him that political considerations had determined his vote, but that he had always regretted it, and suggested that the offer be renewed assuring him that it would be accepted. Again Mr. Baxter took up the matter with his associates, who naturally resenting the refusal of their beneficence, were not inclined to renew the offer. At last, however, they consented to appropriate

$20,000 towards erecting the proposed building and a check was drawn for that amount and promptly accepted by the City Council. The building, however, was not completed as designed. It was shorn of one story, since greatly needed; yet it cost the city $30,000, just what the building as originally designed was to have cost the Trustees, and the city has yet to put on another story.

Portland's single high school occupied an old building, unsanitary and for years under the condemnation of the Board of Health but it had seemed impossible to provide the necessary funds for a new building, the city indebtedness having reached its legal limit before his assumption of office, and the tax rate was considered to be sufficiently high; but without hesitation the Mayor secured plans for a new building, and a year later Portland possessed one of the most completely equipped school buildings in New England, as it was pronounced to be by educators from abroad who visited it for inspection. There was but one public Kindergarten school in the city and Mr. Baxter established another during his second year in office, paying for its maintenance himself.

The Poor Farm.

The city possessed a Poor Farm in its immediate suburbs which had lain idle for many years, and would no doubt have been sold in the lump for an insignificant sum, as it offered a tempting "scoop" for the class of speculators who have influence with city governments, one such man having already advocated its sale and stated the price he was willing to pay for it.

The Mayor, himself largely interested in real estate, and thoroughly understanding how to handle such property, gave his attention to this. A plan was made, streets laid out, graded and paved, sewers built, and then the lots were offered for building at half the price asked for similar lots in the vicinity with the proviso that a house not costing less than $2000 should be erected within two years upon each lot purchased. The result was a rush for lots and to-day this track of land is almost entirely covered with pleasant homes, nearly all occupied by their owners, and has become one of Portland's most attractive suburbs. This transaction not only netted the city several times more than the

land would have brought in the lump but has already added $200,000 to its tax list. Yet while the work of building the streets and sewers was going on, wiseacres shook their heads and declared that the money was being wasted as nobody would build on the old Poor Farm.

Complaints were being made of the State military companies for which the City was compelled by law to furnish quarters.

The Military Companies.

These companies, belonging to the National Guard, were housed in the lofts of unused or partially unused buildings. The men were dissatisfied and being out of sight had things pretty much their own way. The Mayor, among other things, had introduced the use of memorandum books by the patrol men, in which they were required to note everything unusual which they observed on their beats. Kegs of beer were reported being delivered at the soldier's quarters, and other irregularities noted, injurious to the morals and discipline of the men. The Adjutant General was invited by the Mayor to a conference and asked if conditions might not be improved. The reply was that this was well nigh impossible, so scattered were the men in out-of-the-way places amid surroundings inviting disorder. The Mayor asked if he thought it would improve the morals of the men if they had a good armory in a central part of the city where they would be under the public eye. "Undoubtedly," was the reply, "but we have never considered it possible to have an armory."

"I believe" said the Mayor, "that I can supply you with one, though it will be for a time about the most unpopular thing I can undertake," and he ordered plans to be made, which a few weeks later he submitted to the Adjutant General and some of the chief officers of the National Guard, and as soon as they were approved he secured an appropriation and the passage of an order to erect an armory and auditorium to be used at stated times for the drill of the men, and at other times by the city for fairs and other purposes requiring large space. Within a year the armory was completed and the companies of the National Guard comfortably housed in it. It is a building of imposing character, designed by a local architect, and to-day Portland possesses a military organization second to none in New England.

Bridges.

Some of the Mayor's friends say that bridges have been his only Waterloo, and he has reason to be somewhat superstitious about them himself. For years Tukey's Bridge at the Northern entrance to the City, built nearly a century ago, had been considered a disgrace to the City, and the same may be said of Vaughan's Bridge at its Western entrance. Old bridges are a God-send to a certain class of politicians for little games of hide and seek, as they afford almost unlimited opportunities for jobs, or to use an expressive term " hash."

In spite of the condition of the first named bridge in particular, no city government had cared to grapple with the troubles which the rebuilding of it was sure to entail, but the Mayor was used to handling large building enterprises, and did not balk at this, so he proceeded to procure drawings and estimates, marked out his plan for financing the undertaking, built a temporary structure to accommodate travel during the rebuilding and began work on the piers, which were rapidly progressing toward completion when a new election drew near, and here was where the disgruntled politicians were able to get in their work. The Mayor was defeated in the nominating caucuses by a few votes, and the bridge was left to be completed by his successor.

There was wide-spread disappointment at his defeat, and at a later election he was urged to accept a nomination. Meantime Vaughan's Bridge was being annually " repaired," although the Commissioner of Public Works pronounced it unsafe. Members of the Board of Trade and others interested in the business growth of the City, said, " If we can get Baxter we shall get a new Vaughan's Bridge." At last they prevailed upon him to accept another nomination. His preceding term of service to the City had covered four years, and he was elected by a large majority.

As soon as he was settled in office he ordered surveys and tests of the proposed location of the bridge to be made. To finance the undertaking required an act of the Legislature, and that did not convene for a number of months, but everything was got ready, and when the necessary legislation was secured, plans were adopted, a contract made with the New Jersey Bridge Company, and Professor Burr of Columbia College engaged as

consulting engineer to take charge of the rebuilding of the bridge. Nothing more was wanted but to watch proceedings and prevent "extras" from getting into the account. But now, as in the former case, another election came on, and Mayor Baxter, whose election was not doubted by his friends, was defeated by a small number of votes, just about enough, it is said, to represent the people disgruntled by the bridge question, though there can be no doubt that the large majority by which he had been previously elected was lost by the so-called Sturgis' Law, passed by the State Legislature by a Republican vote to effect a better enforcement of the Prohibitory Liquor Law, and which caused disaffection in the Republican Party.

One cannot, therefore, be surprised that Mr. Baxter's friends joke him on the subject of bridges. The people of Portland, however, have two first-class new bridges which they would not probably have had for many years but for him, though the men in power at their completion get the popular credit for them.

The Park System.

But Mr. Baxter's greatest work, and that for which his administration of Portland's civic affairs will be longest remembered is his park system, which he himself originated and planned to the smallest detail.

At the time he entered the Mayor's office, Portland possessed its Fort Allen Park overlooking the harbor; its Western Promenade, Lincoln and Deering Parks. It owned no land along its Eastern Promenade, one of the most beautiful drives near the City. Fort Allen Park had been partially graded but never finished. The Western Promenade, however, had been tastefully laid out and improved, and the same may be said of Lincoln Park and the Oaks. This was all that the City possessed in the way of park improvements. It, however, had an excellent Park Commission, who had accomplished wonders with the small amount of funds placed by past city governments at its disposal, but it had always been handicapped in its work. With Mr. Baxter at the head of affairs everything was changed, and funds were soon supplied to improve Fort Allen Park, the appearance of which in a few months was entirely changed. Land adjoining the Oaks, greatly needed for its extension and ever in danger

of being sold and covered with objectionable structures, was purhased on a long term of years payable in small annual instalments. Land also much needed adjoining the Western Promenade was acquired by exchange and then Mr. Baxter began the acquisition of land on the Eastern Promenade and also of land to connect the various and widely separated parts of his park system. This system contemplated a boulevard around Back Bay, and by Mr. Baxter's persistent efforts, the owners of land about the Bay were induced to give the land necessary for the Boulevard. To interest and educate city officials in park lore, the Mayor took the entire City Council to Boston and entertained them at his own expense, that they might study Boston's splendid park system. Later, that the citizens of Portland might fully understand the park system he had devised, and what he had done toward securing its completion, he wrote a book on the park system of Portland, embellished with beautiful plans and views. This book is dedicated "To the Citizens of Portland."

Space does not admit a detailed account of all that Mayor Baxter has accomplished for Portland. It was his work that caused the annexation of Deering, the particulars of which, as told by one who had part in it, are extremely interesting. And it was he who brought the Maine Historical Society to Portland,and installed it in quarters in the Library Building which he built, and then went to work to secure the gift of the Longfellow House for the Society, the most interesting show place which Portland possesses for its summer visitors. He spent years in endeavors to procure a new charter for the city drawn on modern lines; but his charter, referred by the Legislature to popular vote, failed of adoption. Twice he succeeded in getting a bill through the Legislature establishing a single board of the city council, to which only one member was to be elected from each ward annually, as this he believed would secure a government composed of men most conspicuous for merit in their wards. In each case, as in the case of the charter, the Legislature referred the question to the people and it was not sustained, not because of unpopularity, but because a few politicians who were interested in preserving the old order got out their vote, and the *good* citizens, most of them really in favor of it, forgot to at-

tend the polls. This has been the weak spot in the referendum in Portland. In every case the citizens at large have neglected their interests while the politicians have remembered theirs.

The "Job System."

Perhaps one of the earliest acts of Mayor Baxter's first administration, the breaking up of the job system, stirred up the most feeling against him. Upon entering office he was worried by men expecting jobs in public buildings and other city work for political service. This system had for some time been in vogue. Recognizing this as a form of graft, he first prevailed upon the Public Buildings' Committee, of which he was chairman, to advertise all jobs for competitive bids. This system was soon extended to other departments and still prevails. A single anecdote related by one conversant with the particulars will illustrate not only the necessity of competitive bids, but the Mayor's personal attention to the business details of his office. A few days after his first induction to office one of the officers of the Central Fire Station called upon him to complain of the heating plant. "We are using twice the coal we ought to use," he said, "and still cannot dry our hose. A new and larger boiler must be put into the building." "I will go with you and examine your heating system," said the Mayor. After examining the boiler he said, "Your boiler is sufficiently large, let me see the rest of your heating system." Fnally the hose room was reached. "Where is your radiator?" was asked. "Here," was the reply, pointing to the floor, which consisted of a large wooden rack, from which no heat came. "Have this rack taken up and let me see what is under it," said the Mayor. As it was firmly spiked to the timbers a carpenter was procured and the rack torn up. Then it was found that the radiator composed of iron pipe was laid flat on the ground, and the rack floor built over it, without any space under it for air. Ordering the pipes to be taken up, a large excavation was made for an airchamber, the radiator replaced and fresh air from outside conducted under it. A day or two after the job was completed the officer came into the Mayor's office. "How does your steam work?" asked the Mayor. "All right" was the reply, "and we are consuming about half the coal we were before that job was done."

Enquiry divulged the fact that the original job had been done by a notorious ward worker, who had never learned a steam fitter's trade. The political way of treating a matter like this matter would have been to turn it over to some political favorite who would have installed an entire new heating plant at an expense several times larger than necessary.

Mayor Baxter's efforts to improve the sewerage system should be mentioned. The north side of Portland borders on Back Bay which is bare at low tide and numerous sewers were discharged upon the flats. In summer the conditions existing along the northern slope of the city were not only almost unbearable, but were dangerous to the health of thousands living within reach of the foul odors emanating from the Bay. How to abate the dangerous nuisance was a problem which for years successive city government let alone. Mayor Baxter did not waste time in discussions. He sent for Shedd, the well known expert and told him that he wanted a plan for draining the north side of the city. He took him over the ground, pointed out all the difficulties and took him to Deering that he might get the topography of that portion of the city bordering upon the Bay. "Make your plan," he told Shedd, to accommodate in the end as large a portion of Deering as possible. The plan was made for an intercepting sewer, and the Mayor at once began to build the eastern end and completed a quarter of a mile the first year. His plan was to build a section every year, estimating the completion of the work in ten years. He had built a half mile when he first relinquished office and then the work stopped to be resumed by him nine years later. The following is an extract from his last inaugural.

The Sewerage System.

"A considerable portion was constructed in the two years succeeding the adoption of Mr. Herring's plans, but the work for several years has been suspended. It seemed to me, on again assuming office, that this great work should be taken in hand, and it has been advanced westerly from the foot of Wilmot to Chestnut street. This sewer is being constructed on a scale broad enough to acommodate all the population which this City is likely to have during the coming century. When the two

great sewers on the north and west side of the City are completed, a long step will have been taken toward securing for Portland a first class sewerage system."

But, of course it will be said, Mayor Baxter must have created a big debt to have acomplished so much. No, he did not. He left no floating debt behind him when he relinquished office, and the permanent debt of the city he largely reduced. Nor was the tax rate increased above the average of the ten preceding years. He is an accomplished financier and clear headed business man, and his improvements were made by a judicious expenditure of the public money, and here you have and always will have the secret of successful civic administration.

The Success of the Galveston Experiment.

By E. R. CHEESEBOROUGH, Galveston, Texas.

The strongest feature of the commission plan of city government, to my mind, lies in the centralization of responsibility as well as the centralization of power.

Four Departments.

The business of the city is divided into four departments, with the mayor-president as the executive head, charged with the duty of seeing that all the city laws are enforced.

The commissioners at the first meeting after their election, or as soon thereafter as possible, by a majority vote, designate from among their members one commissioner, who shall be known as commissioner of finance and revenue, and under whose direction is placed the offices of city assessor and collector, the city treasurer and the city auditor. He also is charged with the duty of examining into and keeping informed as to the finances of the city, and with the advice and assistance of the other commissioners prepares the annual budget of the city.

Another commissioner is designated as commissioner of water-works and sewerage. He has under his special charge the construction, maintenance and operation of the water-works and sewer system and departments. The superintendents of these two departments and all their employees, are under the direction of this commission.

The Commissioners.

Another commissioner is designated as commissioner of streets and public property. He has under his special charge the supervision of all matters relating to the streets, alleys and property belonging to the city, and is charged with the duty of lighting the streets,

looking after street cleaning and sanitation, the supervision of street paving, construction of drains, and seeing that the conditions of the grants of public franchises are complied with.

The city engineer and his assistant, the city health physician, the superintendent of drays, and city sexton are also under the direction of this commissioner.

The fourth commission, designated police and fire commissioner, has under his special charge the enforcement of all police regulations and the general supervision of the police and fire departments. The chief of police, chief of the fire department, and the judge and clerk of the corporation court are under the direction of this commissioner.

The Minor Officers.

The city secretary and city attorney are officers with which the mayor-president is closely associated. All officers and employees are nominated by the commissioners in charge of the respective departments and are elected by a majority vote of the entire board.

The city charter requires that the board shall meet in regular session at least once every week. These meetings are conducted in a dignified, business-like manner, and are free from wrangling or disputes. The commissioners sit around a directors' table, the mayor presiding. The city attorney and the heads of the various departments are always in attendance. But little speech-making is indulged in, and the presence of idle spectators is an exception rather than the rule. All important matters are discussed and differences adjusted in conference. "Too many cooks spoil the broth" is an old saying, which can well be applied to a board of twelve or sixteen aldermen. The commissioners can transact the business of sixteen aldermen and do it better, more expeditiously and with greater harmony.

Under the commission form of government, while the commissioners' powers are joint and several, "every tub stands on its own bottom," and the shifting of responsibility is impossible. The mismanagement of a department is promptly laid at the door of the derelict commissioner. This knowledge of personal responsibility causes each commissioner to feel a special pride in the proper management of his department, realizing as he must that merit as well as defects are easily recognized by the public.

Galveston has been extremely fortunate in securing the services of the men now composing its board of city commissioners, as well as some of its officers and employees. In responding to the demand of the hour, these men have given evidence of the highest type of citizenship. When the new charter, granted by the legislature, became effective, under its provisions two commissioners were to be elected and three appointed by the governor.

The City Club.

The City Club is composed mainly of citizens who, during the past ten years, have been striving for better city government. A committee from this club waited on several business men, whose names had been previously selected in conference, and they were urged to consent to become candidates for the two elective positions. Judge William T. Austin, one of those upon whom the committee called, was a man possessing all of the qualities to be most desired in a public official, absolutely honest, thoroughly patriotic, conservative and enjoying the confidence and respect of the people.

Judge Austin and his splendid traits of character were well known, he having served as county judge for ten years, from November, 1880, to December, 1890, he also having served as a member of the school board from the beginning of its organization in September, 1881, up to the time of his election to his present position in September, 1901. While his private business and his profession were calling for every moment of his time, Judge Austin, realizing that the future of his city was at stake,

The Commissioners.

gave his consent. The selection of his running mate was very difficult, and finally one of the City Club committee, Mr. A. P. Norman, was appealed to and his consent obtained. The City Club defrayed the expense incident to the election and relieved the two candidates, as far as possible, from the annoyance which is always connected with a political campaign. The governor appointed Messrs. I. H. Kempner, H. C. Lange and V. E. Austin, completing the board. Mr. Kempner, commissioner of finance and revenue, while a young man, is a financier of splendid ability. His services have been invaluable to the city in many ways. Being the head of a large business concern and the president of two

banks and an active director in a number of important business enterprises, every moment of Mr. Kempner's time was demanded by his private affairs. Notwithstanding this fact, from the purest patriotic motives, we find this extremely occupied business man devoting no small part of five years to the task of redeeming and restoring our city.

Mr. H. C. Lange is an active partner in a large wholesale establishment, which requires his constant attention. His partners, however, being deeply interested in our city, joined in the appeal of the City Club that he consent to accept a position on the board. Mr. Lange, under former city administrations, was one of the city's water commissioners, in which department he had taken great interest.

The city of Galveston owns its own water-works, which cost $1,500,000; also owns its own sewer plant, as well as city lighting plant. Being a thoroughly progressive citizen and one who has always taken an active interest in the welfare of Galveston from the most unselfish motives, Mr. Lange was regarded as the one man for the office of "commissioner of water-works and sewerage." He is devoted to the affairs of his department and is giving them close and careful attention.

Mr. V. E. Austin, commissioner of streets and public property, had never held a public office. Being in business for himself, the success of which was dependent entirely upon his own efforts, and not being a man of means, the acceptance of an office which paid $40 per month and required the greater part of his time was indeed a sacrifice. What is said of Mr. Austin can also be said of Mr. Norman, although the latter's duties as commissioner of police and fire are not such as to require anything like the time and attention demanded by the departments under the direction of the former.

In consolidating the offices of assessor and collector a large saving to the city was made. There never has been any legitimate reason why these offices should not have been consolidated from the very beginning. After becoming settled in office the present board of city commissioners realized full well that it would require money to pay off the big floating debt incurred by the old administration, to rebuild the city hall, repair engine

houses, repave the city streets and to meet other demands not of an ordinary character. Without the issuance of a bond this has been accomplished. Naturally, the question is, "Where did the money come from?"

The Old Form of Government.

Under the old form of city government not only were the departments of assessor and collector separate, requiring two heads and two sets of assistants, instead of one, but all salaries throughout all the departments of the city were larger than at this time. The city clerk formerly received $1,800 per annum and had an assistant. He now receives $1,200 and does his own work. The chief of the fire department received $1,800 per annum, had an assistant and a private driver. There is no assistant now; the chief drives himself and receives $1,500. The city attorney received $1,800 per annum and 10 per cent. on collections. He now receives $1,200 per annum and 5 per cent. on collections through suit. The chief of police received $1,800 per annum and all *ex-officio* constable fees, and at one time had an assistant. The present chief receives $1,500 per annum, has no assistant and all fees go to the city.

The judge of the corporation court formerly received $1,800 per annum and all *ex-officio* justice of the peace fees. He now receives $1,200 per annum and the city gets the fees. The collection of delinquent taxes under the present administration receives active and vigorous attention. A special vehicle tax, originated by the present administration and declared valid by the Supreme Court, is collected and set apart for the exclusive use of street paving. The city has received under the present administration interest on its bank balance amounting to $15,000 per annum. Under the old form of government the city received nothing in the way of interest.

The income from the police department is greater under the present administration than ever before. The income from the water-works and sewer departments is also much greater. The collection of occupation taxes is another feature which receives very careful attention. One of the strongest features of any city government is the legal department. The man to fill the office of city attorney should not only possess legal ability, but should

feel a personal interest in the welfare of the city. He should also be a man of ripe judgment, conservative and fearless. In the selection of Judge J. Z. H. Scott at the outset of the commission form of government Galveston was indeed blessed. Judge Scott rendered the city most valuable service, and his death was a great loss. The one man in this community who could acceptably fill the office made vacant by the death of Judge Scott was Judge M. E. Kleberg, law partner of Attorney-General R. V. Davidson. Judge Kleberg consented, however, only because he was the unanimous selection of the entire board and was appealed to by leading business men of our city to take the office. In this connection, I may say the service rendered by Judge Kleberg in matters pertaining to the grade raising alone have been of greater value perhaps than the compensation which he will receive from the city during his entire term of office. Aside from legal matters, as a counselor Judge Kleberg's advice is freely sought upon all questions by the various members on the board of commissioners. Indeed, the city attorney is no small part of our city government.

Conduct of Departments.

The police department is conducted more with a view of prevention than the punishment of crime. The present chief was taken from the ranks and selected because of the fact that he is absolutely honest, strictly temperate, fearless and possessed common sense. Neither the chief nor the members of the police force seek newspaper notoriety. This department is working in perfect harmony, which is something unheard of under former administrations. Many of the lowest dives of the city have been suppressed in a quiet but effective manner, and many of the former existing evils no longer prevail in this city.

Galveston's fire department is beyond question the most efficient in the State. The insurance record will show the percentage of loss in Galveston to be less than in any other city in the South, and especially in seaports, where the breeze from all sides is unbroken by hills and trees.

No longer are keepers of dives and politicians permitted to supply the street and alley department with the carts and drays used by the city. No longer are the sidewalks of the city rented

out to fruit stands and like establishments by adjacent property owners. In Galveston the expense incident to the paving of the streets is borne entirely by the city, the property owners not being required to contribute, as is the case in other places. The streets and general condition of the city are better to-day than they have been for years. The city is getting better service from all of its employees at this time than ever before. The men receive their pay regularly in cash, the issuance of scrip being unknown. The city hall is run like a business establishment and is no longer the loafing place for idlers.

The important office of city auditor, which pays but $1,500 per annum, is held by Mr. A. Ferrier, who for many years was head accountant for the large wholesale firm of Leon & H. Blum. As an expert bookkeeper and a rapid and accurate worker, Mr. Ferrier has few equals. He is indeed the right hand of the commissioner of finance and revenue. His wide experience in financial matters, as well as his splendid ability as an accountant, are fully recognized and appreciated.

City Auditor.

In making up the city budget great care is exercised and the expenditures are never allowed to exceed the appropriations.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan, after his last trip to Europe, made the following statement: "Let us hope that the time is near at hand when the successful business man in the United States, instead of continuing their accumulations to the very end of life, will be satisfied with a competency, and when this is secured, give to their country the benefit of their experience, their intelligence and their conscience, as many of the business men of England, Scotland and Ireland are doing."

Good city government is a matter of primary importance for all who want to live in cities that are healthy, clean and beautiful; cities that are well paved, well lighted and well drained; cities where the officials as well as the people are honest, just and intelligent, and where vice and crime can obtain no favors; cities that have plenty of pure water, superior business facilities and moderate taxes; cities which are so desirable and attractive that there is a steady increase in population, in business opportunities and in the demand for employees and wage-earners.

The following account of the Galveston experiment has been furnished by A. Ferrier, the city auditor above referred to, and supplements Mr. Cheeseborough's report:

Believing that a few words concerning our commission form of municipal government might prove of some interest, I have sketched the following:

The present charter of the city of Galveston (being the second charter granted since the 1900 storm) was passed by the 28th Legislature of the State of Texas and approved by the governor of the State on March 30th, 1903. The charter provides for the selection of a mayor and four commissioners, who shall constitute the board of commissioners, and prescribes, in a most elaborate manner, the duties of the commissioners composing the board, as well as the regulations in connection thereof for the general government of the city.

The following is quoted from the charter:

It shall be the duty of the auditor to examine in detail all bills, accounts and claims against the city, etc.

Auditor's Duties.

He shall be the general accountant of the said city and shall keep in books regular accounts of all real, personal and mixed property of the said city, of all receipts and disbursements of money, and, under proper heads, separately, each source of receipt and the cause of each disbursement; and shall also keep an account with each person, including the officers who have money transactions with the said city, crediting amounts allowed by proper authority and specifying the particular transaction to which said entries apply. It shall also be his duty, at least once in each month, to examine the books of account of all officers of said city charged with the receipt and disbursement of money, etc.

It shall also be his duty to examine all warrants and countersign the same after appropriation has been duly made to pay the same by said board of commissioners; and he shall render such other services from time to time as said board of commissioners may direct.

BOOKS IN AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

General Ledger.

The general accounts in this book can be classified as follows:

1st. Bond accounts—one account for every issue of bonds having a suitable heading;

Accounts for bonds held in trust for account of the sinking funds and

Accounts representing the interest funds and the sinking funds corresponding wih the different bond issues.

2d. Other fund accounts, such as: vehicle license fund, general fund, special reserve fund, grading and raising fund, water-works fund, sewer extension fund, and funds of bonds.

3d. Accounts with distinct headings for source of income or revenue.

4th. Classified accounts, properly termed budget accounts, for the running expenses of the city and sundry disbursements of each department.

5th. Special accounts for disbursements made in connection with items composed of new construction, sewer extensions, street paving, etc.

6th. Accounts for stocks.

7th. Asset accounts—representing such items as water-works plant, sewer plant, electric plant, public buildings, school buildings, fire system, parks, etc.

8th. Miscellaneous accounts. Under this classification are included accounts for interest, coupons, audited vouchers, personals, officials, tax rolls, poll taxes, and others that may be opened for convenience.

As will be observed, the accounts referred to above are general, and not being detailed it was necessary to have auxiliary accounts and sub-heads.

Trial Balance Book.

Invariably once a month a trial balance of the general ledger is taken and recorded.

Journal.

As this book should embrace and contain a complete record of the city's affairs, it is of the utmost importance that the city auditor pass through its pages, in a condensed, concise form, explanatory entries for every transaction in which the city may be interested.

Audited Vouchers' Book.

This book is invaluable. On its pages should be recorded, under suitable classifications and sub-heads, all bills for purchases, contracts, claims, pay-rolls, etc., provided said vouchers had been duly approved, 1st, by the head of the department which had created the liability; 2d, by the commissioner of the same department; and, 3d, by the city auditor.

Bills not approved as provided by the regulations are held in abeyance until corrected and approved.

All approved bills, pay-rolls, etc., are paid by checks on the city treasurer, drawn against the respective funds. Said checks are signed by the president, commissioner of finance and revenue, and city auditor.

To make reference easy, both the vouchers and checks are numbered consecutively and corresponding numbers entered in the Audited Vouchers' Book.

At the end of each calendar month a summary of the vouchers is made and an entry passed through the journal to conform.

Deposit Warrant Book.

This book is made up of two printed blanks, original and duplicate, perforated in the middle. These blanks are used whenever any city official, handling monies, desires to turn the amount collected over to the city treasurer.

At stated periods the collecting officials, such as the tax collector, secretary of water-works, clerk of the corporation court and others are required to make deposits, and when ready they notify the auditor, who immediately fills out the two blanks, noting thereon, opposite its proper classification of source of revenue, the respective amounts. The duplicate of said blank goes to the city treasurer, while the other remains in the possession of the auditor's office, becoming a part of his records.

"No deposit is accepted by the treasurer without a deposit warrant from the auditor."

Apportionment of Deposit Warrants.

This is practically a book of printed forms gotten up for the purpose of keeping a record of the distribution and application of the moneys deposited with the city treasurer. Said book is

numbered, each number of every warrant corresponding with the number of the deposit warrant issued.

To illustrate:

Say the tax collector reports collection of 1905 *ad valorem* taxes, occupation taxes or licenses, poll taxes, rents, etc., all aggregating the sum of $25,000.00. It is the duty of the auditor, under the charter, to figure out the distribution of the said sum and apportion same to the different funds accounts, taking the utmost care to conform to the terms of the budget adopted for the current year, and when the calculation of the distribution is completed, a blank in the said book is properly filled out and a duplicate furnished to the official making the deposit, who then hands it to the city treasurer. Through this blank furnished by the city auditor the treasurer credits the different funds accounts.

At the end of the month a summary of all the deposits reported made is extracted and a general condensed journal entry is passed showing the distribution, between the different funds, of the entire collections made during the current month.

Upon receipt of the treasurer's monthly report, accompanied by paid cancelled checks and bonds coupons returned, the auditor checks these up and verifies the fund balances in the hands of the city treasurer by comparing same with the ledger balances, and also compares with his record all the deposits reported made by the different officials. In this manner any oversight could be very easily detected.

Another verification of the monthly collections consisted in having the auditor check the stubs of receipt books with the entries of the cash books used in the respective departments, and verify all footings, and then compare with the monthly statements furnished as well as with the periodical reports received during the current month.

Bond Records.

Every issue of bonds has a special book, called "Bond Record." The pages of these records are printed and so arranged as to show the maturity of the interest coupons and the date of the payment of the matured coupons. The headings recite in brief the name of the bond, the purpose of its issue, the approval of the attorney-general of the State, maturity, option, etc.

As provided in the charter, two statements are published every fiscal year, one at the end of the first six months and the other at the end of the fiscal year.

These are prepared partly by the city treasurer and completed by the city auditor, and show in a succinct manner the condition of the city affairs at time of issue. In the arrangement and drawing up of same it has been the aim of the auditor to present, in a comprehensive manner, a statement easily understood by the major portion of the citizenship, who he realizes do not belong to the fraternity of accountants nor are *au fait* in regard to accounting technical terms.

That the commission government has been a success in the city of Galveston is proved beyond a doubt. My observation, not only as a city official but also as a private taxpayer and a resident of nearly thirty-six years, has been such that I consider this city to-day one of the best governed cities on this continent, and for the following causes and reasons:

General Remarks.

1st. Total absence of undue political influences in the selection of the members of the board of city commissioners.

2d. Perfect harmony between the different classes of citizens who favored a clean and capable administration.

3d. The uncontested ability, earnestness and harmony of the present board displayed in the discharge of the duties entrusted to it, and the strict honesty in the management of the finances of the city.

4th. The adherence of said commissioners to the terms of every budget, thus avoiding deficits by keeping expenditures within the year's apportionment—a record unprecedented in years.

5th. The prompt payment of all salaries, wages, pay-rolls, purchases, contracts, etc., appropriations covering same having been asked for and adopted every Thursday evening—equivalent to 52 pay days per year.

6th. The prompt payment of all public improvements, paving, new constructions, the rehabilitation of all storm-damaged public property, all done without a single issue of bonds or borrowing.

7th. The close attention paid to business and the promptness

displayed in the prosecution of all civil matters submitted to the board for adjustment, etc.

8th. The exercise of the greatest care in the handling of all contracts, insuring thereby good work and good value in return for the outlays made by the city; and lastly:

The faithful performance of the duties of every city official, ably assisted by the city commissioners, collectively and singly, whose civil and courteous treatment I here acknowledge, in behalf of my co-workers and for myself.

The Scranton Campaign.

By HON. J. BENJAMIN DIMMICK,
Mayor of Scranton, Pa.

Although a member of this organization for years, I have never attended its meetings and am compelled to admit that in all probability I should not be present this evening had I not recently passed through the throes of a municipal campaign and felt the allurements of your invitation, bidding me to, I will not say the still airs, but rather the sea breezes in which your academic thoughts and discussions are developed.

I only regret that I could not have come down yesterday morning with my friend Mr. Sturges, who slipped away without my knowing it in a manner not at all in harmony with his frank and open nature. His unseemly haste, unseemly from the fact that he had specially urged my coming, and I naturally thought that he would personally introduce me to this august body, became perfectly clear a little later in the day, when upon reaching the Mayor's office my first business was to approve of the arrest of a plumber who had not received his certificate and yet was working for a corporation of which E. B. Sturges was the principal stockholder and which fact was carefully brought to my attention by an officer thereof. However, I stood firm and that very afternoon the offender was publicly fined by a magistrate, while his employer was, I assume, talking loudly in this fairly healthy and comfortable place in favor of good government.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Sturges was partly responsible for my candidacy, it being in fact upon his invitation that some twenty good citizens of Scranton met one day at luncheon, and in the abandon that insues from a repast unduly frugal or unduly sumptuous, requested me to run as a candidate, I suppose it

would be the part of prudence to go no further in the direction of undermining your confidence in a fellow-worker.

I will therefore proceed with what I know you will all regard as a far less interesting subject, namely, myself.

During the recent campaign, a Philadelphia journal was sent me, a journal styling itself, with a lack of self-assertion worthy of their Quakertown, The North American, and in it was a large cartoon, representing a giant labled the "Gang" lying upon his back, while upon him, each swinging a big stick, stood the Mayors of patriarchal Philadelphia, plutocratic Pittsburg and strenuous Scranton. With a true sense of proportion, the artist had placed me upon the giant's feet, evidently regarding those members as of less importance than either the head or the stomach. Artistically, the conception was correct, but athletically I had been allotted the most difficult task of all.

Scranton's Problems.

As I reflect upon the political situation in the first three cities of our state, I am led to the query as to whether Scranton after all did not have a harder problem to solve, at least in the winning of her election, by reason of the fact that her government had not yet developed conditions calling for either general rebellion or revolution; we simply had a municipal government carried along on political rather than business lines.

Upon a platform that declared in favor of an exact reversal of that existing order of things, I started my campaign, or rather my two campaigns, for the contest at the primaries was as hard and bitter as at the election proper.

The Campaign.

I went into the primaries because although I was invited by citizens irrespective of party to become a candidate, yet it was left optional with me as to whether I should endeavor to secure the nomination of one of the parties, and after a careful survey of the field I concluded it would be wise to obtain the nomination of my own party, namely, the Republican, although failure would have necessarily eliminated me from the election. This view was subsequently confirmed not only by events but by my own personal study of the existing conditions, as well.

Throughout those two campaigns I spoke daily. Every noon

at the factories, every evening at from two to three meetings; the burden of my cry being for business, as distinguished from political, methods. It was a somewhat prosaic proposition and yet the fifty meetings which I addressed were not only crowded, but crowded with men intelligently interested and in deadly earnest.

I was elected, and then my situation was best described by a congratulatory telegram from my friend, Mayor Sweet, of Grand Rapids, Mich., which said, "Let not your heart be troubled, your troubles have just begun," and he was right.

Fatigued from the strenuous weeks of the two contests I departed a few days after the election for my camp in the North woods. Incidentally feeling the while that I was exhibiting great sagacity, as by staying away until say a week before entering upon my office, I would not only be free to give my best thought to my appointments, but would escape the unpleasant duty of what is known in practical politics as "turning down," for history was only repeating itself and the applications for office were falling like the leaves of Vallombrosa.

But, alas, in that short week before I was inducted into office there was no trait of human nature with which I did not come in contact; from the self-imposed restraint of friends who would not recommend, to the attempted assumption of proprietary rights by those who had worked or given. Still, disagreeable as was that week, great as was the strain, I felt fully compensated by the many evidences of belief on the part of the people that I was at least attempting to live up to my pre-election utterances.

I have given you this sketch of the situation in Scranton because it was so different from that obtaining last year in plebeian Philadelphia. I say plebeian because when that elderly being saw that she was about to be tossed upon the horns of a Durham she threw herself with an abandon certainly suggestive of a child of the soil, first into the arms of a Weaver and then of a Potter.

Your Secretary has asked me to speak of the problems and difficulties that confront a conscientious Mayor upon his entering into office. I suppose that this somewhat pleasing use of the word conscientious should lead me to make an extra effort

to be responsive, and yet the existence of that very conscience precludes one from generalizing after only three weeks of service. I have reached, however, one or two conclusions in the experiences of the past three months, and I will give them to you for whatever they are worth.

For twenty years, I have read the New York Evening Post, not ignoring good sound Republican sheets the while; I have been a member of this organization and also of the Civil Service Reform Association for a very considerable time; while never a Mugwamp, still I have always had the highest regard for those quasi-celestial beings and have believed and do now believe that the ultimate solution of municipal government is to be found in its complete separation from party politics, and yet I believe that many years must roll around before that goal will be reached in this country. Corruption or gross inefficiency may occasionally obliterate party lines, but under normal conditions, the average voter will line up with his party. I am not speaking of the position of the man of exceptionally broad experience, of the man who has possibly seen and studied the cities of the effete monarchies of Europe, but of the average American citizen, sound in head and heart and strongly because ofttimes sentimentally attached to one of the great parties. Certainly my own personal experience, during the past year would seem to confirm this view. If it is correct, then it becomes it would seem to me, fairly debatable, as to whether the effort now expended in the direction of independent parties, at times holding the balance of power and occasionally winning victories, would not be more continuously and enduringly effective if expended within party lines. I grant you, because I believe, that municipal government is a business proposition, but I am looking at the facts with which we are confronted, rather than the theories which we entertain.

The Obliteration of Party Lines.

And when I suggest party government, I mean not a political administration, but simply a contest between parties as to the chief executive, leaving him free to select his appointees from the men best qualified, even from the opposing party if necessary, and as-

Party Government.

suming that his party will receive credit through results achieved, rather than through patronage bestowed. I do not say that I have reached this conclusion myself, because it is contrary to the views that I have entertained and expressed for many years. But I do say that my own experience seems to justify the query.

One of the depressing features of my campaign, was the realization forced home to me of the large number of voters that are absolutely under the control of A, B or C, and are consequently subject to manipulation. The cure of this must necessarily be slow, inasmuch as it must come from education and from the constraining influence of public opinion.

On the other hand, an inspiring feature of my campaign were the many evidences appearing in all directions of an aroused civic interest an awakened civic conscience.

Looking not only to my own city, but abroad in the land, I believe that the American people are finding themselves, are not only regaining their balance but are attaining permanent poise. Revelations in high finance, that would have thrown the country into hysterics a decade ago are now received with intelligent discrimination that augurs well for the skillful use of the surgeon's knife when it has, of necessity, to be applied. An outcry against corporations or Unions, as such, falls flat, while both are being taught to bend the knee to the Law—to the orderly expressed will of the people.

While we are thus realizing in every direction of life the necessity of larger units, the units of organization, let us not forget that the unit of character must ever be the individual. At the annual meeting last year of the Pennsylvania State Banker's Association, I cited a foreign example of citizenship that had come within my own personal observation, and possibly it would not be amiss to repeat it to-night.

I once visited a Swiss banker under the very shadow of those Alps along whose flanks he had constructed one of the most daringly conceived railways in the world and in a private talk he one day remarked that under no circumstances would he build a parallel railroad, giving as his reason the belief that such a railroad would of necessity be either disastrous to the investor or burdensome to the community. In short, he had regard not

simply for financial and physical feasibility but for moral and economic responsibility as well. The incident is not only suggestive but stimulative, and I would close my remarks with not only the hope but the belief that, notwithstanding such contrasting conditions, individual character in this great republic is destined to equal, if not surpass, even that developed in the little republic whose traditions go back to William Tell.

The Resolutions of the United Cities Conference.

By CHARLES RICHARDSON, Philadelphia,
First Vice-President National Municipal League.

One of the most significant of recent developments in connection with municipal problems is the declaration adopted by the convention held in Chicago on the 11th and 12th of January, 1906, and known as the United Cities Conference. The invitations for the meeting were issued by the well-known "Municipal Voters' League" of Chicago, and the call stated that the question to be considered would be, "The extent to which Municipal Elections should be separated from National Party Politics and the control of National Political Parties, and the best means by which such separation, as may be deemed advisable, can be brought about."

The conference included representatives from the militant non-partisan organizations working for the improvement of local government in fifteen of the leading cities of the United States. There was substantial unanimity in the views expressed, and the final declaration was adopted without dissent. It was as follows:

The Resolutions.

"WHEREAS, The vast growth of American cities has brought with it a series of problems peculiar to congested population, and most of which have no possible connection with the general policies of the nation; and,

"*Whereas*, These problems, moral, social and economic, can only be solved by the intelligent, unhampered, direct attention of the communities interested; and,

"*Whereas*, Prior to the accomplishment of the great tasks set before the cities there is need that all unnecessary obstacles be

removed and all steps be taken that may lead to simplification of elections;

"Now, therefore, we, the delegates representing militant, non-partisan organizations working for the improvement of city government in America, by practical participation in municipal politics, assembled in conference at Chicago, January 11 and 12, 1906, in the name of the United Cities of America, declare the following:

"We hold that the lines of cleavage in municipal politics have no relation to the lines of cleavage in national politics.

"We hold that the intrusion of national politics in municipal government brings with it issues absolutely foreign to the proper functions and reasonable aspirations of the national parties, and others which are alien to the interests of the municipalities, thereby tending to degrade the national parties and seriously injure city government.

"We further hold that more efficient means should be provided whereby the will of the majority of the people deliberately formulated and expressed should control municipal policies.

"We further hold that there is urgent need of fixing direct responsibility of municipal officials to the people and of reducing to the lowest practicable number the city offices filled by election.

"We further hold that the merit system of appointment has demonstrated, wherever honestly applied, that it tends to result in the selection and retention in office of a higher grade of men than are obtained by other means; that it opens the public service as an honorable career, free from the distractions of politics, and that it tends to relieve the citizens from the possibility of tyranny by officeholders.

"Holding the propositions advanced to be self-evident in theory and amply demonstrated in practice, we, therefore, now urge in the interest of better municipal conditions:

"First. That cities should be granted the largest possible measure of home rule, subject only to such general statutory safeguards and restrictions as may be necessary to protect the general interests of the state as distinguished from the local interests of the municipality.

"Second. That the party column on the ballot should be

abolished; that the names of candidates for a single office should be printed on the ballot under the designation of that office, and that it should be made impossible to vote a straight party ticket by a single mark or cross.

"Third. That municipal nominations and elections should be completely separated from state and national nominations and elections and should occur at different times, and that nominations for all municipal offices be made by petition or by an efficient method of direct primaries.

"Fourth. That the number of elective municipal officers should be reduced as far as practicable, always preserving the right to elect members of the municipal legislative body or city council.

"Fifth. That the merit principle should be applied to all departments of city administration under practical and efficient civil service laws.

"In conclusion, this conference, realizing the vital importance of the successful solution of the municipal problems now confronting us, earnestly hopes that consideration and discussion of them may continue, and to that end urges the formation of more organizations devoted to local issues which shall co-operate in all practical ways to secure the enactment of laws embodying the principles outlined."

"*Resolved*, That this conference do, and it hereby does, heartily endorse the proposal of the Yale City Government Club to encourage the establishment of similar clubs in other colleges and universities, to the end that knowledge of, and interest in, Municipal Civics may be increased by such action."

The Value of the Declaration.

The value of the foregoing declaration would have been materially diminished by the insertion of anything that was merely theoretical or of a novel and unproved character. That source of weakness seems to have been wisely and skillfully avoided, and the preamble and resolutions were confined to the expression of ideas which have been for many years the subjects of open debates, carefully prepared papers, and formal resolutions in the proceedings of the National Municipal League, as also in other organizations, and in the public press and numerous books and pamphlets of recognized merit.

The five resolutions adopted at Chicago are all sound and admirable. The first is a well-expressed endorsement of "Home Rule," and is in full accord with the sentiment that if there is any community which does not know how to govern itself, it should be set to work at the job as soon as possible. Under our form of government, experience is as yet the best and almost the only really effective teacher for a large majority of the voters. It is an old saying that the people must learn by their own errors as the child learns to dread fire by putting his finger in the flame. But there is one fundamental requirement that is always essential for the success of such methods of instruction, and that is that nothing should be permitted to prevent the child from withdrawing his finger, or the people from correcting their mistakes, with the least possible delay. It would hardly be more foolish or wicked to fasten the child's finger in a vise until it was burned to ashes than it is to tie the hands of the voters with laws which favor corruption or permit the granting of franchises or contracts for indefinite or unreasonable periods.

Home Rule.

The fifth and sixth paragraphs of the Chicago preamble, and the second and third resolutions, show a strong appreciation of the manifold evils which result from the intrusion of national politics in municipal affairs, and of the demoralizing and injurious effects of this intrusion upon both national parties and city governments. Scientists tell us that there is at least one blind spot in every human eye, but it is certainly true that the blind spots in the political vision of the American people have been much more numerous, and one of the worst has been the one which has prevented a general perception of the colossal absurdity and deplorable consequences of selecting city officials and employees because of their connection with national parties or national issues. One of the most encouraging signs of the times is the evidence afforded by recent elections that this blind spot is being rapidly displaced by a power of perceiving the truth, and wherever the people have shown that they are ready to ignore national questions in local elections the power of bosses and grafters is crumbling into ruins or tottering to its fall.

Divorce of Municipal from National Affairs.

There can be no doubt about the ability of the people to accomplish the practical exclusion of national issues from municipal contests whenever they can be convinced of its importance. A general condemnation and disregard of all nominations made by national parties for local offices would be as simple and effective for this purpose as the method of Columbus was for making an egg stand on end; and in view of the great advances in political intelligence during the last few years, it may be urged that the time has come when all reform organizations should unite in earnest efforts to promote the further development of public sentiment in this direction. There should at least be a thorough analysis and a general discussion of the reasons for and against the long established belief or assumption that the interference of national parties in municipal affairs is an unavoidable necessity. If it can be made clear to a majority of the voters that the reasons for that interference are all bad, and that the reasons against it are all good, the day will soon come when it will no longer be tolerated or attempted in American cities.

The Merit System.

The endorsement of the Merit System in the preamble and in the fifth resolution of the Chicago conference will have the unanimous approval of all students of municipal problems. The facts and arguments in its favor are too familiar to need repetition here, and I will only refer to the experience of Philadelphia during the last twelve months as an almost perfect illustration of the fact that the power to distribute the public offices and patronage as rewards or inducements for partisan or personal services is as essential for the existence of bossism and corruption as the final destruction of that power by the enforcement of the Civil Service Reform or Merit System is essential for the establishment and continuance of decent government. It was the power to control the appointment of public employees that enabled the leaders of a sordid combination of thieves and grafters to carry elections, dominate councils, and reduce the third city of the Union to the pitiable condition of an apparently helpless and despairing victim of venal despotism and organized rascality. It was by the sudden and heroic destruction of that power that Mayor Weaver, as the official representative of the people, enabled the latter to break

their chains and overthrow their oppressors. And it is because that splendid victory has resulted in the enactment and enforcement of an admirable civil service law, that we are justified in believing that Philadelphia has at last risen from the shameful depths of political degradation and entered upon a long career of civic liberty and enlightened progress.

New Laws.

It is, of course, obvious that the Chicago recommendations can only be made effective by the enactment of many new laws, and the preparation and advocacy of such laws will require much care and skill as well as great energy and perseverance. The public-spirited and self-sacrificing citizens who engage in this laudable work are likely to be criticised by unfriendly or superficial thinkers on the ground that in this country every community has just as good government as it wants or deserves, that there is no one to blame for bad government but the people who suffer from it, and that no additions to the excessive number of existing laws can accomplish the one thing needful, which is the conversion of bad citizens into good citizens. If these views were sound it would follow logically that when a house is broken into and robbed, the burglars should be regarded as innocent, and their unhappy victim as the only person to be blamed, because he has failed to get a sufficient number of his neighbors to join him in forsaking all other business and in being always armed and on the watch day and night for the protection of his property. The argument against efforts to obtain better laws is equally unsound. No one can realize more clearly than the advocates of such measures that it is only by the aid of good citizens that good laws can be made effective, and that no man can be made wise or virtuous by an act of the Legislature. There is, however, a vast difference in the practical operation of good and bad laws. It is a difference which may be compared to the difference between arming the escort of a richly-laden caravan with effective weapons, or binding them hand and foot in the presence of a horde of bandits.

When the laws are what they ought to be it is comparatively easy for the people to defend their interests, express their wishes, correct their own mistakes, and remove their unfaithful or incompetent servants. When the laws are bad, it is difficult and

expensive, and in many cases impossible, to achieve success in such efforts. Some of the best illustrations of these principles are found in laws relating to the granting of franchises. Where franchises are granted for long or unlimited periods, the hands of the people are tied, and resistance to the abuse and extortion of irresponsible monopolies is apparently hopeless. When franchises are restricted to reasonable periods, the power to correct such evils is retained by the people, and they can be appealed to and interested and induced to act as often as the necessity arises.

In concluding these somewhat cursory comments upon the Chicago resolutions it may be said that their especial value consists in their being the latest and most authoritative statement of some of the most essential conclusions which have been reached and established through the long experience and matured thought of the most practical, successful and intelligent municipal reformers that America has produced. They can be safely accepted as fundamental principles for the guidance of the reform associations and patriotic citizens who are the natural leaders of the people in the wide-spreading popular revolt against misgovernment and corruption in the cities of the United States.

The Acceptance of Municipal Accounting Reform.

By DR. L. G. POWERS,
Chief Statistician, Bureau of the Census.

At its inception, the National Municipal League adopted certain principles, which it set forth as the fundamental objects for which it was organized. One of these objects was stated to be "To promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration."

The League's Principles.

The League had been in existence but a short time before it was perceived that to secure this object the cities of the country must sooner or later adopt a uniform classification of accounts and methods of accounting. The League accordingly entered upon an investigation of this branch of the subject. Its committee for this purpose was composed of practical, level-headed men who understood that the problems involved were of two distinct classes: (1) Those relating to the classification of accounts, and (2) those which concern the preparation of a model system of accounting. These problems, in the opinion of the committee, could best be solved one part at a time, and in the order above mentioned.

In a series of reports to the annual conference the committee has presented in the last ten years the results of their deliberations with reference to the subject of a uniform classification of accounts. The classification recommended by the committee of this League, with minor modifications, had in 1902 been adopted by a number of the cities of the country. A number of other cities at the time, without the formal adoption of the scheme in its entirety, had modified the classification of their accounts to a limited extent to conform to the schedule of the League.

The wisdom which guided the committee in its earlier work is

evidenced by a number of facts. No city which has adopted its classification of accounts—in whole or in part—has ever abandoned the same. The number of cities using that classification has increased from the beginning in a geometrical ratio. The defects, or rather imperfections, of the earlier city reports based upon the schedule of the League did not arise from any inherent weakness of the schedule, but from the fact that the scheme itself was, in the existing condition of municipal finance, a gigantic undertaking, and one which could not be perfected in a short time. Before it could be fully carried out there must be in the hands of all interested in the subject data relating to the revenue systems of all the cities, the different municipal organizations, and the diverse meanings assigned in various cities to the financial and other terms employed by those charged with the administration of cities. There must also be made detailed instructions for the preparation of a city budget on which to base this classification of payments and receipts, so that all cities using the scheme of the League might be working along identical lines. The collection of such data and the preparation of those instructions involved an immense amount of labor and the lapse of considerable time. It called for the coördination of the experience of all the city fiscal officers in their effort to produce reports comparable one with another.

The League's Classification.

The action of the Municipal League, and of the city comptrollers and auditors adopting its classification of accounts, had in 1902 brought the work of classification to a point where those interested in the movement saw the pressing need of this additional work and the information which it would render available for the public. It was at this time that the Bureau of the Census entered upon its two-fold duties of collecting the data for its report on Wealth, Debt, and Taxation, and its data for the Social Statistics of cities.

The Census Bureau's Activity.

In the preparation of its schedules and instructions to agents for the compilation, the census officials perceived the broad and stable foundation for correct statistics which had been laid by the committee of the National Municipal League. They recognized the

patience and painstaking labors of the city fiscal officers who had broken the old fields with the plowshare of intelligent efforts to give their constituents something better and more valuable as a guide to more intelligent civic action than was furnished by the old fiscal reports. Under these circumstances, those in charge of this branch of the census work set themselves to the task of building upon the foundation of the National Municipal League a superstructure of comparable municipal financial statistics. This task has proved to be a difficult one, even for the large resources of that bureau. It is a task which has required time for its accomplishment.

The first work was hasty, and, therefore, a more or less imperfect study of the revenue systems of the several states and the different municipal organizations. After this study the schedules, with instructions, were prepared for collecting the data for the fiscal year 1902. The active work of collecting those data, and the consequent practical experience with the revenue systems and methods of transacting city business, led to a change both in the schedules and instructions for 1903. It disclosed so many imperfections in the work of 1902, calling for corrections, that the statistics of 1902 were held up and not published until corrected by the data secured in 1903, and the reports for both years were issued together in Bulletin 20.

The scedules prepared for 1903 were used in collecting the data for 1904, although the printed instructions for 1903 were, in many respects, modified by special typewritten amendments. The work of tabulating these data for 1904 has now been completed, and the copy is about ready for the printer. For 1905 the office is about completing the forms for new schedules and instructions, which will bring to date the results of its study of the classification of municipal accounts and the instructions necessary for its clerks to make fairly comparable returns for the several cities.

Simplification of Instructions.

It is the aim of the Bureau of the Census to simplify, and to a slight extent condense, the earlier general instructions, but to supplement the printed instructions with special instructions for each state, directing how to adjust the special financial accounts of cities in that

state to make with those of other states a harmonious and comparable whole.

The Census Report for the fiscal year 1902 and 1903 was issued in 1905 in Bulletin 20. That bulletin contained a brief statement of the nomenclature and basis of classification adopted by the Census. In another report to be issued during the current year, by the same division, there will be given some admirable summaries of the revenue systems of the state, county, and municipal governments of the several states. These have been prepared under the direction of Prof. Carl C. Plehn, of the University of California. The preliminary studies of Prof. Plehn, and all others along the same lines in the Census Office, have been indispensable for the building of a superstructure of comparable statistics upon the basis of the early classification of the National Municipal League. When issued, this work of Prof. Plehn's will be of much use to those interested in the study of the revenue systems of states and municipalities. The statistics of 1905 will give in considerable detail the different sources of revenue for American cities, and we hope to make the bulletin for that year a fairly comparable presentation as well as a complete exhibit of the revenue systems and sources of revenue of our large American cities. When we have issued our summaries of state revenue systems and our specific analysis of the working of such systems for all of our larger cities, we will—so far as the income of cities is concerned—be able to place in the hands of students of municipal conditions all the information called for by the statement of the object of the National Municipal League. We shall have the information needed "to promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration."

Summaries of Revenue Systems.

Owing to the greater complexity of municipal than of state organization, and of municipal revenue systems, it will require the lapse of more time before I shall feel that our tabular exhibit of payments actually presents the data in a form so well suited for a study of municipal conditions and the details of civic administration. The facts, however, show that the country has advanced a great distance in the ten years since the National

Municipal League took up this subject. We are securing statistics on municipal payments and receipts in a form which approximately constitutes a basis of one of the primary demands of the League, and the way is rapidly opening to secure all other needed statistical information relating to civic administration and municipal conditions. Ten years ago no one would have dreamed such progress attainable in this period which I now review.

The Hopeful Side.

But the foregoing is not the only, nor even the most, hopeful side in the situation. That most hopeful side is seen in the attitude of the cities themselves. In the period from 1890 to 1893, when the Eleventh Census was collecting its data for statistics of municipal finance, the office met hearty coöperation in only a few cases. In many cases there was positive distrust, and in the majority, cold indifference and contempt. The shining exception of hearty appreciation of the value of comparable municipal statistics was on the part of the auditor of Cambridge, Mass. He voluntarily sent in the first report of a city, and his schedule was reprinted and made the basis of instructions to other city officers and census agents, as the proper method for compiling a city report. This action on the part of the auditor of Cambridge was just before the organization of the National Municipal League, but the gentleman who in 1891 came to the front in assisting the Census Office in its work of securing comparable statistics of municipal finance early took an active part in the work of the National Municipal League. As a member of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounts and Reports this gentleman has been of great assistance to this League, as he has to the officials of the Bureau of the Census. I refer to the Honorable Harry T. Upham, who was one of the first—if not the very first—city comptrollers to make trial schedules of the League in his annual city report.

The striking case of intelligent and hearty acknowledgment of the value of comparable municipal statistics and financial transactions of the Eleventh Census has grown until every official in our larger cities is profoundly concerned with the subject. The only things concerning which questions arise are those of details—how to arrange schedules and prepare tables that will be of most service. The field is so new that there are grounds for an hon-

est difference of opinion here, and the only way to secure further harmony is by a just and intelligent discussion, by all interested, of the features concerning which there is such difference.

The Census Bureau Conferences.

Two years ago last November the Bureau of the Census called a conference of city officials and accountants, and economists interested in these statistics. This conference was held in Washington, and was attended by about forty persons. A second conference was held in February last, and was attended by fifty-five individuals representing sixteen different states. The proceedings of this conference will leave the press in a few days. Its results will clearly show that the majority of the fiscal officers of our important cities are alive to the value of a uniform classification of municipal accounts on the lines worked out by the Census upon the basis of the original schedule of the National Municipal League. The officials present at that conference passed resolutions urging all the cities of the country to arrange their accounts and prepare their reports on the basis of the census schedules. They effected a temporary organization, and at the meeting of the conference of the League of American Municipalities next September in Chicago they will take up this question and all allied topics relating to uniform and reformed municipal accounting.

The subject of Uniform Classification of Municipal Accounts has, in the ten years here passed in review, become one which has attracted the attention of legislatures. The following states have passed laws requiring uniform municipal reports, and in many cases the adoption of uniform system of accounts, under the supervision of state accountants: Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, Iowa, and Wyoming. The success of the experiment in Ohio, where uniform reports are combined with a uniform system of accounts, and supervision thereof by the state, has done almost as much as the work of the census in extending and popularizing the movement for uniform classification of accounts, and they promise to accomplish even more than has been brought about by the work of the Bureau of the Census. Similar bills to those passed this last winter in Massachusetts and Iowa are before the legislatures of other states, with a fair prospect of enactment into law within the next year or two.

Allied with the question of uniform classification of municipal accounts and uniform municipal financial reports is that of reformed and improved municipal accounting. This subject is attracting much attention on the part of many city officials, accountants and economists. From the nature of its relation to this field, the Bureau of the Census has not, and cannot at present take any active part. The importance of the subject points out the advisability of thoroughly testing the so-called revenue system of accounts to ascertain how far and under what circumstances they are advisable in American municipal affairs. The results of the introduction of these accounts into a number of our cities has thus far been considered very largely from the accountant's standpoint. They should be carefully investigated from their relation to civic administration, and the comparative clearness of such reports for the average citizen and taxpayer.

Improved Municipal Accounting.

Under the circumstances, I would suggest that it is very desirable for a committee of the brightest men interested in municipal affairs, together with one or two accountants, to make a careful investigation of all the later reports of the principal cities. Let them take two or more of these reports—some of them revenue and some of them on the cash basis—to the wide-awake and fairly intelligent men interested in municipal affairs, such as councilmen, city attorneys, professors of our colleges, members of citizens' reform associations and like bodies, and ask them as disinterested individuals to examine these reports and point out, for each, what they think are good points, and to state their reasons for accepting and calling them good. Let them also state what information they would like to see in a city report which they fail to find in these reports. In this latter case let them state for each class of information desired the object for which they desire it.

Investigation of the Later Reports.

With such information from a thousand representative students, with no axe to grind, the committee of the League could during the next year lay the basis for the universal adoption of improved as well as a uniform system of accounting. It seems to me there is danger in rushing ahead at the present time to a

hasty acceptance of new accounts introduced by men familiar with commercial accounts but not largely conversant with the needs of municipalities.

The movement begun ten years ago by this League is now under full headway, with steam up, and its momentum is constantly being accelerated in something like a geometrical ratio. Without mishap, ten years more will see a change in our cities nothing less than revolutionary in its character. The work of the Census has cleared the track for a uniform classification of accounts. There should be something done to clear the way for uniform accounting. The League can do this along the line suggested.

Bulletin No. 20 and its Effects.

I cannot close without calling your attention to some of the effects which have followed the publication of Census Bulletin 20 with its statistics of cities of 25,000 inhabitants, for 1902 and 1903. That bulletin disclosed to the cities of the Pacific Coast the fact that, unlike most other cities of the country, they were not receiving any interest on the current deposits of the cash in banks. A disclosure of this fact by the publication of this bulletin has led to an agitation for state legislation for the regulation of this subject, and I am assured that there is every probability that laws will be enacted by the next Legislature of California requiring interest to be paid not only on all the deposits of cities, but on those of counties and other civil divisions.

In Missouri cities other features of Bulletin 20 disclosed the fact that cities of that state, with the exception of St. Louis, had no way of ascertaining from their own books the amount of taxes from railroads to which they were entitled. As a result of this disclosure a bill is being prepared for the next State Legislature to correct the defect and keep the officials in right touch with all the sources of their revenue.

In at least fifty cities the figures of the bulletin were used as the basis of political discussion before the last election, and in as many others those figures entered into the discussion of the budget before the city council this past winter. Many uses of these comparative census statistics were unquestionably faulty and unjustified by the facts, owing to the imperfect knowledge of the

correct way of using the figures, but the incorrect as well as the correct use of these figures show that correct comparable statistics of municipal transactions are the true basis of promoting the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration, and hence that anything that improves these statistics will facilitate that investigation and discussion.

The Bureau of the Census is now arranging to begin its collection of data for the fiscal year 1905 not far from July 1st. Its schedules will cover a wider field, and in many respects will furnish the public more details than ever before. The Bureau is at present engaged in preparing its schedules for this later year. It takes pride in the achievement accomplished by its force, which is a collection of some of the best and most efficient young clerks that are under the employ of any public office, commercial corporation or private business. Whatever the office has achieved has been accomplished, however, only through the coöperation and loyal work of its employees and the hearty assistance, criticisms and suggestions of all interested in the subject. The amount of our progress in the future will be measured very largely by the degree in which the office keeps in touch with the cities and those concerned with civic administration. The brightest of young men in a great city like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Boston can compile comparable statistics only by a sympathetic coöperation of the local officers. We can improve our schedules and our tabular presentation only as we receive suggestions as to local needs and statements of the places in which the present report fails to answer local requirements. We must have such criticisms of our reports, as I have suggested, for the local reports. We are seeking these in every way and from every possible source. We bespeak the active coöperation of all interested in the National Municipal League, and we urge a like coöperation of all interested in the subject of uniform municipal accounting.

Ohio Experience with Uniform Accounting and Reporting.

By A. B. PECKINPAUGH, Columbus, O.,
State Auditor's Department.

The State of Ohio has now had three years' experience under the operation of an act to create a bureau of inspection and supervision of public offices and to establish a uniform system of public accounting, auditing and reporting under the administration of the auditor of state, passed by the General Assembly May 10th, 1902, and, as a representative of the Bureau of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices created by this act, I have been requested to present to the National Municipal League some of our experiences in making a practical application of this law to the various municipal, county, township and school accounts of the state.

Before entering upon the task of relating the experiences of the Department, it might be well to briefly state some facts relative to the origin of the law and some of the many reasons for its enactment. It has long been apparent to any who have been interested enough to make even the most cursory investigation, that public accounting and reporting has not kept pace, along the line of improvement, with the systems adopted in private business enterprises. The reasons for this condition are many, but some of the more important might be stated as follows:

The Origin of the Law.

1st. The conduct of public affairs is placed in the hands of officials whose tenure of office is short and in many instances having no training or experience to fit them for the duties they are assuming. As a very natural consequence they follow the course of least resistance and adhere strictly to the methods in vogue under their predecessors, without any attempt whatever at improvement, thus

Existing Conditions.

perpetuating antiquated systems of accounting which are not at all adequate for modern conditions.

2nd. These officials have not, in the past, been responsible to anyone except the people who elect them, and the people as a whole are usually quite easily satisfied along the lines of accounting and reporting, being very different in this respect from the head of a great private business concern, who is ever alert to employ experienced men, adopt progressive and up-to-date methods, and demand clear and distinct statements and reports which exhibit the true financial condition of the business in a clear, concise and comprehensive way as to its every detail.

The State Board of Commerce, composed as it is of the active and energetic business men of the state, were the first to recognize this condition of the public accounts of the state, at least the first to take active steps to secure legislation looking to the bettering of such conditions. Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, the secretary of the board, drafted the act providing for uniform systems of public accounting and so ably and persistently advocated its passage by the General Assembly that it became a law May 10th, 1902.

The act provides for the creation of a bureau of inspection and supervision of public offices under the administration of the auditor of state who is designated as the chief inspector and supervisor, with authority to appoint three deputies, not more than two of whom shall belong to the same political party, and as many state examiners as are required to administer the provisions of the act, such examiners to receive compensation at the rate of five dollars per day and expenses incurred. The law is very broad in its scope as will be seen by noting some of its provisions. It provides that:

The Act of 1902.

"The auditor of state through said bureau shall formulate, prescribe and install a system of accounting and reporting, in conformity with the provisions of this act, that shall be uniform for every public office and every public account of the same class, and which shall exhibit true accounts and detailed statements of funds collected, received and expended for account of the public for any purpose whatever, and by all public officers,

employes or other persons, such accounts to show the receipt, use and disposition of all public property, and the income, if any, derived therefrom, and of all sources of public income and the amounts due and received from each source, all receipts, vouchers and other documents kept, or that may be required to be kept, necessary to isolate and prove the validity of every transaction, and all statements and reports made or required to be made, for the internal administration of the office to which they pertain, and all reports published, or that may be required to be published, for the information of the people, regarding any and all details of the financial administration of public affairs.

"The Auditor of State through said Bureau shall require from every taxing district and public institution financial reports covering the full period of each fiscal year, in accordance with the forms and methods prescribed by him, which shall be uniform for all accounts of the same class, which said reports shall be prepared, certified and filed with said Bureau within thirty days after the close of each fiscal year by the auditing department of said taxing district or public institution. Such reports shall contain an accurate statement in summarized form, of all collections made by or receipts received by the officers from all sources, all accounts due the public treasury but not collected, and of all expenditures for every purpose and by what authority authorized, and also: (*a*) A statement of all costs of ownership and operation and of all income of each and every public service industry owned and operated by a municipality.

(*b*) A statement of the entire public debt of every taxing district to which power has been delegated by the state to create a public debt, showing the purpose for which each item of the debt was created, the provisions made for the payment of the debt together with such other information as may be required by the auditor of state. Such reports shall be certified as to their correctness by said auditor of state, his deputies, or by a state examiner, or other person legally authorized to make such certificate. Their substance shall be published in an annual volume of comparative statistics that shall be issued for each class of accounts at the expense of the state as a public document, and shall be submitted by the Auditor of State to the Governor for

transmittal to the Legislature at the next regular session, or at a special session when required."

The required appointments were made, and the organization of the department was effected July 1st, 1902.

It will be readily understood that the members of the department, upon a careful study of the law, were somewhat appalled at the extent of its provisions; all had had experience with the various classes of public accounts of the state and it required but little investigation to determine that there were about as many systems of accounting as there were different public offices; add to this the fact that each officer was exceedingly tenacious in his belief that he had the very best system for his particular class of accounts, and we were confronted with a serious problem, in bringing about uniformity in these widely differing systems.

At this critical time we were again assisted by the State Board of Commerce, which employed and paid from its own funds, Mr. Harvey S. Chase as consulting expert to the department, in municipal accounts, from whom valuable assistance was received. The schedules adopted by the National Municipal League formed the basis from which we worked, and were of very great value to us in arriving at a system for the seventy-two cities of the state.

Difficulties. Naturally many difficulties were encountered in bringing about the desired result; active opposition, however, came from but few places.

Inasmuch as the law provided that each county should contribute to the support of the department in proportion to population and the cost of all inspection was made a charge against the political division whose accounts were inspected, opportunity was given and one county auditor refused to draw warrants for the compensation of examiners, setting up the claim of unconstitutionality.

Although we were successful, in an action in the Supreme Court of the State, to compel the issuing of the warrants and the act was held to be valid, yet there was more or less uncertainty and consequent delay during the pendancy of the action.

It has been thought to be inadvisable to adopt drastic meas-

ures to compel the adoption of our forms of accounting and reporting, believing that the beneficial effects of uniformity would be so apparent as to recommend itself and the forms would be adopted with but little delay.

As a result of this policy, there are a few counties and cities of the state where the forms prescribed have not yet been adopted, but we hope to have them adopted completely in the near future.

The inspection feature of the law has been carried along with the other features and, as a natural result, some enmity on the part of officials whose shortcomings have been reported upon and made public, has been created toward the department. This, together with some criticisms as to the cost of the department, and political considerations, no doubt led to the introduction of a bill at the session of the General Assembly just closed, to repeal the act under which the department is operating; however, the bill got no further on its legislative way than the committee to which it was first referred, and we believe the public sentiment of the state is strongly in favor of the retention of the statute authorizing inspection and supervision of the public accounts.

We have also been at some disadvantage by reason of the fact that the compensation provided by the General Assembly for our examiners is not adequate to at all times secure the services of men thoroughly competent to perform the arduous duties required. Our experience has been that, in some instances, when men have become proficient in the work, their services command better remuneration in other lines.

Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered, we are pleased to state that much progress has been made in the work.

Progress.

Our efforts were first directed to a system of accounting and reporting for the seventy-two cities of the state, varying in population from 5,000 to nearly 500,000. By the system prescribed the accounts of the various city auditors were placed upon a uniform basis and so arranged that the annual financial report may be made without difficulty and within a few days after the close of the fiscal year.

The schedules for annual reports are in conformity with

those of the National Municipal League except as local conditions and laws made it necessary to depart therefrom as to some of the less important details.

On the first day of January, 1904, these forms were installed in nearly all of the city auditors' offices, and in the two years' operation have accomplished the purpose for which they were designed. We have received little or no criticism and much praise from the officials having them in use.

A form of general ledger to produce the balance sheet of the city has not yet been prescribed, but we fully expect to install this form within the present year. We have had but little in the way of precedent to follow with respect to a general ledger form, as, strange as it may seem, there is but one city in the entire state where any attempt has been made to keep such a ledger, and in this instance it was very indifferently and unsatisfactorily kept.

We have issued a volume of comparative statistics compiled from the reports of city audtors for the years 1903 and 1904, containing valuable information as to the cost of operation and maintenance of the various departments of the cities grouped in tables according to population, in convenient form for comparison of the same items of expenditure in cities of approximately equal population. It is by enabling the public as well as the official to make these comparisons that the cities are greatly benefited financially.

Heretofore no intelligent comparison of the various items of expenditure was possible owing to the fact that each city published its annual report in accordance with the ideas of the city auditor, which resulted in there being as many forms of report as there were cities, thus rendering them of absolutely no value for comparative purposes.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the financial condition of the various municipalities of the state has shown marked improvement within the past three years, and we firmly believe that this very desirable condition is largely attributable to the information given through the use of the accounting and reporting system. It is indeed highly gratifying to our department to note such improvement.

Uniformity for Villages.

Uniform accounting and reporting has also been prescribed for the more than 700 villages of the state, which is proving an efficient aid in the betterment of the public service, and we are just now receiving the first annual report of their financial condition, upon the forms prescribed which are simple but give such information as will allow intelligent comparisons.

The form of accounting for the 1600 townships and 2800 school districts has been made uniform and the system prescribed is now in use in nearly all these taxing districts. The matter of a uniform report for school districts has not as yet been taken up by the department, as this feature has heretofore been handled by the state school commissioners' department, and any additional requirements on our part would involve double labor.

Uniformity for Counties.

A uniform system of accounting was prescribed for the auditor's and treasurer's offices of the 88 counties of the state and installed in nearly every county on September 1st, 1904. This system encountered considerable opposition, particularly on the part of the treasurers, on the ground that it largely increased the volume of work in their office; the criticism, however, came principally from those treasurers who had not theretofore kept an adequate account of the financial transactions of their office. In fact, some of these important offices, handling annually as much as a million dollars of the public funds, were without any books of account whatever and were dependent entirely upon the auditing department of the county, with the result that some very serious conditions were disclosed upon examinations being made by examiners from our department, which will be explained later.

Owing to the existence, in the statutes of the state, of many laws of a special nature not applicable to all the counties alike, creating conditions in one which did not exist in another, the task of prescribing a uniform schedule for the annual financial report for counties was a most difficult one, but after much careful investigation as to the divers conditions brought about by conflicting provisions of the statutes, and in some instances securing legislative enactments to cure such conditions, uniform

schedules were prescribed for the report of the fiscal year ending August 31st, 1905.

The schedules provide for a detailed classification of receipts and expenditures for each purpose, with all transfers, refunds and other temporary accounts eliminated, thus securing actual results. Our troubles come about from the difficulty in securing an accurate compilation of the reports by the local officials, by reason of their not being familiar with the forms. To secure accuracy, which is of course absolutely essential, verification will have to be made by representatives of the department, which, with the force now at our command, is rather a slow process. We believe, however, that the schedules with some further amendments to meet local conditions, will prove effective, and the comparative statistics to be compiled and published, will give the officials and the public such information as will bring about a great improvement in the financial condition of the counties. From the financial reports heretofore published, the citizen or tax payer could secure very little, if any, information as to the purposes for which the public funds were expended nor the amount expended for each purpose, for the reason that the various laws providing for their publication require the different officials authorized to expend funds, to make separate reports, to be published at different times, thus giving the information desired in a fragmentary form and rendering it of little or no value. Add to this the fact that these reports were published in almost as many different forms as there are counties and it will be quite evident that they were of no value whatever for comparative purposes, and many of them almost worthless for any purpose, some being apparently prepared with the intention of giving as little information as possible.

The Inspection Features.

The inspection feature of the work has been productive of good results in all classes of offices. This is the feature which keeps the department most prominently before the general public owing to the wide publicity given to our examiners' reports through the public press. Many of these reports disclose malfeasance and misfeasance on the part of the officials, and are made to appear quite sensational in their publication; for the most part, how-

ever, they simply disclose a condition of negligence or a tendency to follow well established precedent, rather than any willful intent on the part of the official to defraud the county or misappropriate the public funds. As a result of these examinations, two or three officials have been indicted and sentenced to confinement in the penitentiary and about that many more are under indictment awaiting trial for forgery or embezzlement. The punishment for crime is not, however, the object of the examinations but is rather the outgrowth of the conditions developed, and we feel sure that the mere fact that public officers know that their accounts and official acts are to be investigated by examiners employed by the state, and a report thereon made public, acts not only as a powerful influence to deter them from committing illegal or crimnal acts but as an incentive to put forth every effort for the public good that they may merit the commendation of the examiner, and, through his report, that of the public generally.

These examinations have thus far resulted in direct findings against officials and others, of public moneys illegally expended and to be returned to the respective treasuries, in excess of seven hundred thousand dollars, a considerable part of which has already been returned. In addition to this large amount, there can be no question but that a much larger sum has been saved by preventing illegal expenditures that would otherwise have been made. At the time the General Assmbly was being urged to pass a uniform accounting law, Mr. Foote, Secretary of the Ohio State Board of Commerce, made the statement that such a law would save to the tax payers of the state $ annually and we believe the results thus far attained have fully demonstrated this statement to be correct.

Savings Effected.

It might be of interest to give, somewhat in detail, the conditions disclosed in one or two of our examinations. In one county it was developed that the county treasurer kept absolutely no books of account whatever, seeming to think that his duty was performed when he received the money he was authorized to receive, paid out the amounts he was authorized to pay, and without keeping any account of his cash, producing semi-

annually the amount shown by the county auditor's accounts to be in his hands. It was also disclosed that the deputy auditor who kept the account with the treasurer, in addition to this duty also acted in the capacity of a clerk in the treasurer's office at odd times. As a result of this method of conducting the public business, the examiner reported a shortage in the treasury during a period of seven years of nearly seventy thousand dollars. The deputy auditor is under indictment for forgery and larceny, one treasurer has, through his bondsmen, made good the shortage occurring during his term and the other has paid part and will, no doubt, soon settle the balance of the large amount due. With any intelligent system of accounting and inspection, of course, such a state of affairs could not possibly exist. In many other counties similar conditions were found to exist, but with the absence of criminal features.

Our first examinations were confined to an inspection of the conditions as disclosed by the face of the records, in but few instances going into the matter of taking parol testimony to establish facts not obtainable from the records. It was found upon examination that a large number of the county treasurers of the state were illegally depositing the public moneys in various banks. The laws of the state make this embezzlement on the part of the treasurers. In addition to the criminal feature it was intimated that some of the treasurers were illegally converting to their own use, the interest received upon this money so illegally deposited; however, as this was a matter not disclosed by the records, we simply placed in the hands of the local prosecuting attorneys, an exact statement of the facts with the idea that, if warranted by the condition presented, further investigation might be made by them in the courts.

Very little, if anything, was done by the local authorities, however, until the recent senatorial investigation made in Hamilton County with the result that something like a quarter of a million dollars was turned back into the county treasury, as interest or gratuities received by the treasurers and illegally converted to their own use. It is probable that similar action will now be taken in some of the smaller counties, where the same conditions are thought to exist.

While the inspection of the public offices discloses and corrects many abuses and irregularities, yet it is in the supervision feature of our work that we feel the public service is being most benefited. Through the advice given by our department and the examiners under its control, both as to the law and the administration of public affairs, we are gradually bringing about a uniform procedure in the methods employed in the public business to the end that in the supervision of contracts and methods the indirect savings to the various treasuries have been much more than the direct findings returned in the investigations.

In relating some of the experiences of the department in the administration of the uniform accounting law in Ohio, I fear that I may have opened the way to the criticism of being like the "man with the muck rake." To avoid that, I want to say in closing that our public officials generally are men of honest intentions and purposes, and that by the administration of the uniform accounting law they are becoming more proficient and the public is receiving the benefit of this increased proficiency, while the occasional official who is inclined to be dishonest is kept in the straight and narrow way.

Standard and Uniform Reports from Public Utilities Both Municipally and Privately Operated.

By HARVEY S. CHASE.

It may be taken for granted that, theoretically at least, we are all in favor of standard and uniform reports from public utilities and municipal enterprises; that we appreciate the necessity for such reports and that we earnestly desire to see standard schedules authoritatively provided for them. Accepting this position, we may then address ourselves immediately to the practical difficulties, and the question arises, "What obstacles must we first overcome before such standards can be provided, and, further, what authorities must we invoke in order to have such forms accepted and used universally?"

Authorities.

The authorities must evidently be invoked through statutory requirements of states. Illustrations are before us in the regulation of the accounts of gas companies and electric companies by Massachusetts, an example now followed by New York; also in the control of railroad reports by the Interstate Commerce Commission and by the railroad commissioners of various states. Still other examples are evident in the regulation of municipal accounts and reports by Ohio, Wyoming, New York, and now, under an act just passed, by Massachusetts.

The authorities are therefore available and sufficient. Our next question, therefore, is, "How can these authorities be instructed and incited to action, and to action along uniform lines, which is fundamentally important?" Evidently a supreme au-

thority as a leader is necessary. Have we such an authority and is it inclined and prepared to lead? In the writer's opnion we have such an authority in the United States Census, and already this authority has surveyed the field, has sharpened the ploughs and is breaking up the ground. In fact, it has already run a number of remarkably straight and uniform furrows. In so important a question we may assure ourselves that where the United States Census leads, the state boards and municipalities will surely follow.

The fundamental authorities being thus in evidence and in activity, we may properly devote our attention to the difficulties. What are these difficulties?

In an endeavor to get at some of these things at first hand and to make them clear to himself and to others in a practical way the writer has taken the best material available, namely, the annual returns by gas and electric companies and by municipal industries in Massachusetts, and has attempted to set up their financial transactions upon a standard schedule.

Schedules.

For this schedule a form submitted at the recent conference called by the Census Bureau at Washington in February has been taken. This form had subsequently been discussed and amended by a special committee of the American Association of Public Accountants appointed for this purpose by the President of the Association. The deliberations of this committee are not yet completed, and it was for the purpose of furnishing material for additional discussions in that committee as well as of preparing this paper that the examination of these Massachusetts returns was undertaken.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding I will state plainly that the forms here set forth have not been finally accepted by any individual or committee. They are tentative forms devised for the purpose in hand and subject to modification hereafter. With this explanation the schedule may now be presented, mainly as a basis for further discussion.

We will first consider the proper form for "Revenue and Expense" transactions of a public utility during the fiscal year, including in this item all revenues *accrued* during the year and

all expenses *incurred* during the year. The fundamental items of such a statement are three: First, the revenue; second, all expenses which must be paid ultimately out of revenue; third, the excess (or deficiency) of revenue for the year and the disposition of it. My experience advises me to reverse this arrangement in part and to set forth "Expense" first, followed by "Revenue" and then by the disposition of the excess, or deficiency. On this page is given a "Suggested Form for Standard Schedule" for financial statements of municipal enterprises and public service corporations, showing revenue and expense during the year:

SUGGESTED FORM FOR STANDARD SCHEDULE.

EXPENSES OF OPERATING.

1. Expense of manufacture	$
Operation	$
Maintenance	$
Product purchased	$
2. Expense of distribution	$
Operation	$
Maintenance	$
3. General expense (salaries, office supplies and expenses)	$
Total (1, 2 and 3)	$
4. Taxes (real estate and other)	$
5. Franchise taxes (paid or accrued annually or otherwise)	$
6. Rentals (leaseholds, etc.)	$
7. Insurance (fire, accident and fiduciary)	$
8. Damages (including extraordinary legal and other expenses and losses)	$
9. Guaranty (bad debts written off and reserve for doubtful accounts)	$
10. Depreciation (deterioration written off and reserve for estimated depreciation)	$
Total expense of operating	$

REVENUE FROM OPERATING

Gross earnings from public services.....$
Gross earnings from private consumers.....$
Gross earnings from by-products, etc.....$

Total.....$
Deduct rebates, refunds, discounts, etc.....$

Total revenue from operating.....$

a. Net revenue from operating (or deficiency).....$
b. Other revenue, or income, net (from sources other than operating).....$
c. Appropriations for operating, provided by the municipality from general funds.....$

Total available income.....$

DISPOSITION OF AVAILABLE INCOME

11. Interest on funded and floating debts.....$

Remainder of available income.....$
12. Reserved for sinking funds.....$
13. Reserved for amortization funds.....$
14. Reserved for other funds.....$

Total reserves.....$
15. Dividends (private plants).....$
16. Appropriation to general city funds (public plants).$

Total disposition of available income.....$

Credit (or debit) balance transferable to "surplus"....$

Expenses of Operating.

The expenses of operating are set forth under ten headings. The first three are common both to publicly operated and to privately operated plants and are ordinarily set forth in the accounts of most plants. Items 4 to 10 are separately stated, but are also important elements of expense and all of them must ultimately be provided for out of the revenues of the plant. If these elements of expense are not properly provided for in this manner in the accounts there will come, sooner or later, a time when the enter-

prise, if privately operated, will fail and require reorganization and new capital. If publicly operated the drain upon the tax levy will become overwhelming and the public operation will be denounced and abandoned.

All of these ten items are true "expenses of operating." In addition to them there are other requirements which must also be provided for, such as interest payments and provisions for sinking funds (11, 12, 13 and 14). In private plants these items must be paid out of revenue; they cannot be provided from capital. Similarly these items in a municipal plant must be provided from revenue; either from revenue of plant, or from appropriations of general tax levy. Appropriations for these purposes are legitimate and proper as they have to do only with the manner in which the municipality provided the original cost (capital) of the plant.

Other Requirements.

In the schedule we therefore handle these items as "dispositions of net revenue," and not as elements of "expense of operating." Expense is set forth first, followed by revenue for the reason made clear in subsequent tables that in a large number of municipal plants no earnings are set forth in the accounts covering street lighting, which is the main business of these plants. Sometimes a definite appropriation is made for this purpose, but even in such cases it is generally insufficient to cover the expenses of the service. Therefore one can not at present satisfactorily compare revenues of private plants with revenues of municipal plants. Expenses, however, must always include the same classes of items and can be properly compared. Expenses are therefore set forth first. Revenue follows, and the difference between its total and the total expense of operating discloses the net revenue (or deficiency), from operating (a). To this must be added (b) revenue or income (net) from sources other than operating, and for public plants (c) municipal appropriations for operating, provided from tax levy or other general city funds, but not including any appropriation used for new construction, improvements to the plant, or other capital purposes. The total of these three items (a, b and c) gives the available net income from which to deduct the additional requirements for interest, sinking funds, etc., described above.

It is desirable to bring to the reader's attention a number of other important points.

Important Points.

First. It is evident that revenue from sales of product,—water, gas, electricity, power, etc.,—should be separated from revenue from extraneous sources, such as from rents, or from investments and securities, etc. In the schedule these extraneous sources of revenue are set forth at "b," as explained above, and do not affect the financial results of the business viewed solely as a gas undertaking, an electric undertaking, etc.

Second. It is evident that discounts, rebates, refunds, etc., should be handled as deductions from revenue, not added to expense, thus giving true "earnings," actual revenue.

Third. There are three primary divisions of expense as previously mentioned.

1. "Expense for manufacture" pertaining to gas, electricity or power for street railways; this subdivision for water being called "expense for water supply and storage."

2. "Expense for distribution," which explains itself. Each of these two divisions is subdivided into "operation" and "maintenance"; "operation" covering strictly running expenses, and "maintenance" covering repairs and ordinary renewals. These subdivisions are essential for this reason: That as this schedule is to apply both to public plants and to private plants, the relative cost of "operation," i. e., actual running expense, should be evident, and likewise the relative amounts expended, or laid aside for repairs, including deterioration, should be in evidence.

Comparing a public enterprise with a private enterprise, the operation expense of the first plant may be heavier than the corresponding expense of the second plant, while the maintenance (repairs) expense of the first may be much less than that of the second. Important differences in administration would thus be shown by our schedule, whereas if these items appeared only as a total in each plant, these totals might be approximately the same and conclusions drawn therefrom might then be exceedingly misleading.

3. The third division of expense is "general expense." A

designation which we all understand. The important point here is that "general expense" shall not include any of the items which are sure to differ very materially between public plants and private plants *per se*. That is to say, taxes and franchise payments are distinctively *private* plant charges; sinking fund provisions are commonly only *public* plant charges. Insurance differs very greatly. Interest varies markedly. Damages and extraordinary legal expenses apply differently. Depreciation is usually inadequately handled, etc., etc. Therefore we do not include any of these variables in "general expense." They follow later in the schedule. The items which should be included in "general expenses" are these: Salaries of officers, general salaries, directors' allowances, rent of offices, general office expenses, postage, telegraph, telephone, stationery and printing, ordinary legal expense, etc.

Fourth. The total of the three primary divisions of "expense" is then given. Comparisons of the costs of public and private administration up to this point may be safely made as all the preceding elements should be identical in character.

Fifth. All additional items which are necessary elements of expense before "net revenue" can be established may be considered somewhat as variables. These represent actual facts even though they may be omitted in the bookkeeeping. Taxes are paid by private plants, but usually lost to the public treasury through public plants. They must be properly considered for correct comparisons. Insurance, in its various phases, is a risk which must be taken and estimated, or paid for.

Damages and legal expenses (extraordinary) differ greatly between public and private plants and are therefore set up separately here.

Guaranty for losses on bad debts or other shrinkages of current assets, is also variably handled.

Depreciation of machinery and plant is complicated and difficult to allow for and yet it goes on daily and hourly in every plant. It must be provided for either consciously in the books or unconsciously in undistributed reserves or else the plant will suffer and the capital value will be reduced.

All these items are true charges against revenue before profits, or net revenue, can be established.

Payments on Capital Accounts.

Owing to the different methods of providing capital for public plants and for private plants the returns upon (or repayments of) this capital must be carefully considered in the reports and disclosed in the schedules. Public capital is usually borrowed on bonds or notes and paid off through sinking funds. Payments into sinking funds for such a purpose are therefore distributions of net revenue just as much as dividends upon share capital in private plants are distributions of profits. Interest also is a payment for use of capital—borrowed capital, to be sure, but still capital. Payments of interest are therefore actually distributions of net revenue paid upon borrowed capital in place of dividends paid upon share capital.

In order to correctly compare distributions of profits in private plants with net revenues in public plants, we must consider the total of dividends, interest and sums laid aside for franchise amortization in the former against the total of interest, sinking fund items and returns to the general municipal treasury similarly laid aside in the latter.

The next division of the schedule, "disposition of net revenue," is therefore of fundamental importance. All of the items included thereunder have no relation to "expense of operating." They are merely distributions of net revenue. That this is true of dividends is universally accepted. That it is true of moneys laid aside for sinking funds is also evident after a moment's thought. To consider interest in the same category is perhaps difficult for the average fiscal officer, but it is apparent that this item represents the use of capital, in this case borrowed money.

It would be impossible to compare net revenues of public and private plants if interest were put above the line while dividends were left below the line. Take for instance a private corporation with $500,000 share capital and no bonds, and a municipal industry with $500,000 4% bonds outstanding. If interest were put above the line the public plant would be charged $20,000 as an expense item, whereas the private plant would have no such charge above the line. This distinction is essential and must be carefully observed for all comparative purposes.

The remainder of the schedule explains itself, and I need say only that each of the items given in this consolidated statement should be set forth in detail on subsidiary supporting schedules which should follow, in the main, the uniform distribution of the accounts provided in the standard schedules of the American Water Works Association, the American Gas Light Association, the National Electric Light Association and the Association of Street Railway Accountants. It will be found feasible and practicable to draw off the items needed for the consolidated statement, herewith submitted, direct from the standard detailed schedules of these four national associations. The original schedule was presented by the writer at the second conference upon Uniform Municipal Reports, etc., called by the United States Census Bureau at Washington, D. C., in February, 1906. The purpose of the writer in presenting the consolidated statement was to have it carefully considered, amended and adopted at that conference and thereafter to have it acted upon by the American Association of Public Accountants and by the National Municipal League. It is proposed then to submit the final forms to the United States Census Bureau and to the Investigating Committee of Twenty-one of the National Civic Federation, with the request that these forms be utilized as the basis of the financial reports which will be made hereafter by that committee upon public and private enterprises in this country and abroad.

Schedules thus standardized and accepted will thereupon become the foundation upon which the accumulation of data can safely be made for years to come. Results predicated upon such data can then be accepted and acted upon intelligently in the light of local conditions, in any community which may consider the purchase or establishment of municipal enterprises of this nature.

Already the purpose of the standard schedule has appealed to a wide constituency in this country and in Great Britain, and it may be safely stated that the effect of a full discussion of the fundamental accounting propositions concerned in it cannot be other than exceedingly beneficial to officers of both public and private plants, to public accountants, to business men and to intelligent citizens generally.

The writer has no bias for or against municipal ownership, but as a professional accountant he appreciates fully that financial results are by no means the only ones which must be carefully considered when comparisons are made between public and private operation. Others matters are frequently of equal or greater importance. Fnancial results, however, are of serious importance and they cannot be too fully and accurately stated. Municipal officers and citizens should be enlightened by the accounts and reports from their plants, not blinded and misled by them as is frequently the case at present.

The United States Census Bureau is about to undertake a complete inquiry into municipal operation of public utilities throughout the country, and great care will be given to the preparation of standard schedules, both summary and detailed, for all classes of these enterprises.

APPLICATION OF THE STANDARD SCHEDULE TO TEN COMPANIES AND TO TEN MUNICIPAL PLANTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The plants selected were taken somewhat at random out of the total number of such plants making annual returns to the gas and electric light commissioners of Massachusetts, attention having been given to their relative sizes, gauged by their outputs and by the poulations of the districts served by the plants. Four of each ten are "gas-electric" plants, including Haverhill, in which the results of two separate plants are combined. The remaining twelve plants are electric solely. The figures given are those furnished to the gas commissioners under oath by the officers of the plants, and are authoritative. The interesting and important features of these tables are first, the gaps in the schedules where no figures appear, and, second, the comparisons of the various elements of the expenses and of the revenues.

It must be remembered that the present comparisons are by no means final; in fact, they are merely starting points from which after much more data in relation to any two of the plants have been gathered, it may be possible to set up truly comparative figures and to reach conclusions which will be accurate and fair. In other words, the figures given here are merely first steps in the stairway leading up to the broad platform upon

which impartial comparisons of such data must be ultimately based.

With these considerations in mind we may, without being misled, give consideration to the discrepancies and deficiencies shown in the schedules of ten companies and ten municipalities in Massachusetts.

I will call attention especially to item 4, taxes, item 5, franchise taxes, and item 10, depreciation. Loss of taxes is evidently considered as no element of cost in any of the municipal plants, yet of course the lack of receipts from taxes is a distinct loss to each municipality when comparisons are made with privately managed plants. Depreciation, on the contrary, is made a distinct charge in all the municipal plants although not allowed for in many of the companies. This will be surprising to the ordinary observer, but it arises from a requirement of law in Massachusetts whereby municipal plants must set aside annually at least five per cent. of the cost of the plant as a provision against depreciation. Municipal plants are usually called upon to provide for sinking funds out of net revenues of the plant, or out of municipal appropriations, and these items are set forth in their proper place in the schedule.

The feature already mentioned, namely, the lack of definite payments for street lighting by the municipality to its plant, is also apparent when we follow across the first item under "revenue from operating."

Many other interesting features will be discovered in the schedules if attention is given to them.

The author of this paper and the committees now discussing the matter will be pleased to give careful consideration to comments and suggestions looking toward the bettering of the arrangement or terminology of these schedules.

Reports from Ten Massachusetts Municipal Electric and Gas-Electric Plants arra upon Standard Schedules. For the purpose of showing the discrepancies and in the present forms of statement. Covering the year ending June 30, 1905.

MUNICIPALITIES.	HOLYOKE. [Gas & Electric.]		WESTFIELD. [Gas & Electric.]		WAKEFIELD. [Gas & Electric.]		MIDDLEBO [Gas & Elec
Population	45,700		12,300		9,200		6,900
Expense of Operating.							
1. Expense of manufacture.							
Operation	105,914.74		23,397.63		18,103.25		7,684.52
Maintenance	14,427.86		1,858.01		1,314.50		458.59
		120,342.60		25,255.64		19,417.75	
2. Expense of distribution							
Operation	10,471.77		1,146.34		4,486.82		1,578.75
Maintenance	9,006.41		953.33		1,413.71		994.53
		19,478.18		2,099.67		5,900.53	
3. General expense		13,493.35		2,643.87		4,794.92	
		153,314.13		29,999.18		30,113.20	
4. Taxes.							
5. Franchises.							
6. Leaseholds, rentals, etc.							
7. Insurance		1,190.32		528.49		513.12	
8. Damages.							
9. Guaranty		676.55		147.73		56.69	
10. Depreciation		47,042.29		7,445.88		6,793.13	
Total expense of operating		202,223.29		38,121.28		37,476.14	
Revenue from Operating.							
Earnings from public services	54,264.72				1,469.18		743.09
Earnings from private consumers	183,417.89		38,197.62		26,956.36		11,581.27
Earnings from by-products, etc.	10,306.05		4,364.46		5,581.33		395.30
Total	247,988.66		42,562.08		33,306.87		12,719.66
Deduct, rebates, refunds, disc'ts, etc.*							
Actual earnings from operating.		247,988.66		42,562.08		33,306.87	
a. Net revenue from operating		45,765.37		4,440.80		†4,169.27	
b. Other revenue or income (from sources other than operating)		1,133.82					
c. Appropriations for operating provided by the municipality from general funds		247,818.75		11,500.00		40,504.73	
Total available income		294,717.94		15,940.80		36,425.46	
Additional requirements which should be provided from available income. (Disposition of available income.)							
11. Int. on funded and floating debts		28,413.67		3,488.33		6,457.00	
Remainder of available income.		266,304.27		12,452.47		29,968.46	
12. Reserved for sinking funds.	‡44,600.00		‡4,000.00		‡6,300.00		‡2,000.00
13. Reserved for amortization f'ds.							
14. Reserved for other funds.							
Total Reserves	44,600.00		4,000.00		6,300.00		2,000.00
15. Dividends (private plants).							
16. Appropriation to general city funds (public plants)	290,856.71		2,433.11		37,968.39		
Total disposition of available net income		335,456.71		6,433.11		43,568.39	
Credit (or debit) balance transferable to "surplus"		†69,152.44		6,019.36		†13,599.93	

* Discounts deducted previously. † Debit balance. ‡ Serial bonds paid.

Reports from Ten Massachusetts Municipal Electric and Gas Electric Plants arranged upon Standard Schedules. For the purpose of showing the discrepancies and gaps in the present forms of statement. Covering the year ending June 30, 1905.

MUNICIPALITIES.	TAUNTON. [Electric.]		CHICOPEE. [Electric.]		DANVERS. [Electric.]	
Population	31,000		19,000		8,500	
Expense of Operating.						
1. Expense of manufacture.						
Operation	26,645.81		15,134.05		8,897.20	
Maintenance	1,636.37		1,335.92		731.47	
		28,282.18		16,469.97		9,628.67
2. Expense of distribution.						
Operation	6,171.17		5,416.31		1,355.22	
Maintenance	5,035.97		1,365.50		1,440.93	
		11,207.14		6,781.81		2,796.15
3. General expense		2,278.06		1,306.60		1,897.77
		41,767.38		24,558.38		14,952.59
4. Taxes.						
5. Franchises.						
6. Leaseholds, rentals, etc.						
7. Insurance		552.25				720.55
8. Damages.						
9. Guaranty				83.95		9.60
10. Depreciation.		13,819.16		5,864.59		2,013.32
Total expense of operating		56,138.79		30,446.92		16,096.06
Revenue from Operating.						
Earnings from public services	1,845.04		16,899.94		347.82	
Earnings from private consumers	40,594.79		14,401.19		12,854.06	
Earnings from by-products, etc.			1,185.24		4.50	
Total	42,439.83		32,486.37		13,206.38	
Deduct, rebates, refunds, discounts, etc.*						
Actual earnings from operating		42,439.83		32,486.37		13,206.38
a. Net revenue from operating		†13,698.96		2,039.45		†2,789.68
b. Other revenue or income (from sources other than operating)		1,463.89				246.37
c. Appropriations for operating provided by the municipality from general funds		17,422.50		35,149.41		8,060.00
Total available income		5,186.83		37,188.86		4,516.69
Additional requirements which should be provided from available income. (Disposition of available income.)						
11. Interest on funded and floating debts		11,922.50		3,555.41		1,536.07
Remainder of available income		†6,735.67		33,633.45		2,980.62
12. Reserved for sinking funds	1,200.00		‡4,000.00		1,000.00	
13. Reserved for amortization funds.						
14. Reserved for other funds.						
Total reserves	1,200.00		4,000.00		1,000.00	
15. Dividends (private plants.)						
16. Appropriation to general city funds (public plants)			34,722.59			
Total disposition of available net income		1,200.00		38,722.59		1,000.00
Credit (or debit) balance transferable to "surplus"		†7,935.67		†5,089.14		1,980.62

* Discounts deducted previously. † Debit balance. ‡ Serial bonds paid.

Reports of Ten Massachusetts Municipal Electric and Gas-Electric Plants [illegible] Standard Schedules. For the purpose of showing the [illegible] the present forms of statement. Covering the year ending June [illegible]

MUNICIPALITIES.	BRAINTREE. [Electric.]		CONCORD. [Electric.]		[illegible]
Population	6,000		[illegible]		[illegible]
Expense of Operating.					
1 Expense of manufacture.					
Operation	10,232.93		[illegible]		[illegible]
Maintenance	1,179.[illegible]		598.12		[illegible]
		11,412.32		[illegible]	
2 Expense of distribution.					
Operation	1,056.02		842.90		[illegible]
Maintenance	1,181.06		858.48		[illegible]
		2,237.08		[illegible]	
3 General expense		817.33		[illegible]	
		14,466.73		13,43[illegible]	
4 Taxes					
5 Franchises					
6 Franchises, rentals, etc.					
7 Insurance		407.49		237.49	
8 Damages					
9 Quarantine					
10 Depreciation		4,094.93		4,735.07	
Total expense of operating		18,969.15		18,412.18	
Revenue from Operating.					
Earnings from public services	270.29		523.88		
Earnings from private consumers	13,750.69		11,911.59		17,319.72
Earnings from by-products, etc.	532.50		1,995.03		1,580.90
Total	14,553.48		14,430.50		18,900.62
Deduct, rebates, refunds, discounts, etc.*					
Actual earnings from operating		14,553.48		14,430.50	
a Net revenue from operating		†4,415.67		†3,981.68	
b Other revenue or income (from sources other than operating)		27.02		185.05	
c Appropriations for operating provided by the municipality from general funds		9,282.50		8,875.62	
Total available income		4,893.85		5,078.99	
Additional requirements which should be provided from available income. (Disposition of available income.)					
11 Interest on funded and floating debts		1,820.83		3,653.33	
Remainder of available income		3,073.02		1,425.66	
12 Reserved for sinking funds	430.00		1,920.00		3,770.00
13 Reserved for amortization funds.					
14 Reserved for other funds.					
Total Reserves	430.00		1,920.00		3,770.00
15 Dividends (private plants.)					
16 Appropriation to general city funds (public plants)	6,146.50				
Total disposition of available net income		6,576.50		1,920.00	
Credit (or debit) balance transferable to "surplus"		†3,503.48		†494.34	

* Discounts deducted previously. † Debit balance. ‡ Serial bonds paid.

Ten Electric and Gas-Electric Companies in Massachusetts arranged upon d Schedules. For the purpose of showing the discrepancies and gaps in the forms of statement. Covering the year ending June 30, 1905.

NTIES.	LYNN. [Gas and Electric.]		NEWTON. [Gas and Electric.]		HAVERHILL. [Acc'ts of Gas Co. and Electric Co. combined.]		CLINTON. [Gas and Electric.]	
Population	79,300		50,200		39,500		13,700	
nting.								
anufacture.								
	185,212.43		82,926.50		108,169.68		18,558.82	
	30,117.87		13,729.02		8,822.63		3,124.84	
d			36,331.50					
		215,330.30		132,987.02		116,992.31		21,683.66
istribution.								
	33,845.57		20,983.54		14,411.32		2,730.61	
	73,826 31		52,341.00		12,812 52		2,349.44	
		107,679.88		73,324.54		27,223.84		5,080.05
nse		25,317.47		17,207.77		27,825.49		6,927.75
		348,327.65		223,519.33		172,041.64		33,691.46
		22,691.83		11,581.82		10,933.15		1,344.24
entals, etc.								
		5,933 74		3,797.78		797.16		1,120.57
		740.05		250 00		37.65		
		1,785.50				1,346.03		488.79
						11,010.28		2,040 82
of operating		379,479.67		239,148 93		196,075.91		38,685.88
perating.								
public services	70,634.98		61,771.87		93,617.34		14,305.17	
rivate consumers	516,456.49		221,057 50		235,621 26		32,888.08	
by-products, etc.	49,048.18		27,609.00		2,675.54		2,381.09	
	636,138.95		310,438.28		261,904.14		49,574.34	
, refunds, disc'ts,								
from operating		636,138.95		310,438.28		261,904.14		49,574.34
ep. (or deficie'y)		256,659.18		71,289.35		65,828.23		10,888.46
or income (from								
han operating		109,991.93		5,315.77		2,807.83		
for operating								
he municipality								
nds.								
income		366,650.31		76,605.12		68,636.06		10,888.46
truments which								
ovided from								
income.								
vailable income)								
ed and floating								
		4,298.76		13,260.22		6,233.56		5,447.50
available income.		362,351.55		63,344.90		62,402.50		5,440.96
inking funds,								
mortization f'ds.								
ther funds.								
ivate plants	57,500.00		24,000.00		16,432.20		5,065.00	
to general city								
lants								
on of available								
		57,500.00		24,000.00		16,432.20		5,065.00
balance trans-								
ds"		304,851.55		39,344.90		45,970.30		375.96

* Discounts deducted previously. † Debit balance.

Reports from Ten Electric and Gas-Electric Companies in Massachusetts arranged upon Standard Schedules. For the purpose of showing the discrepancies and gaps in present forms of statement. Covering the year June 30, 1905.

COMPANIES.	NORTHAMPTON. [Electric.]		LEOMINSTER. [Electric.]		GARDNER. [Electric.]	
Population	18,600		13,700		10,800	
Expense of Operating.						
1. Expense of manufacture.						
Operation	15,109.67		16,208.26		10,756.05	
Maintenance	1,217.01		785.97		2,472.22	
Gas purchased.						
		16,326.68		16,994.23		13,228.27
2. Expense of distribution.						
Operation	5,908.54		2,133.26		1,721.63	
Maintenance	331.55		4,713.13		1,727.93	
		6,240.09		6,846.39		3,449.56
3. General expense		2,911.66		2,077.76		1,177.50
		25,478.43		25,918.38		17,855.33
4. Taxes		2,077.40		1,256.99		981.01
5. Franchises.						
6. Leaseholds, rentals, etc.						
7. Insurance		626.99		852.00		777.80
8. Damages.						
9. Guaranty				3,140.61		96.01
10. Depreciation						4,137.78
Total expense of operating		28,182.82		31,167.98		23,849.14
Revenue from Operating.						
Earnings from public services	11,040.18		9,869.54		4,313.75	
Earnings from private consumers	41,398.49		32,031.07		18,046.60	
Earnings from by-products, etc.	524.03				53.08	
Total	52,962.70		41,900.61		22,413.43	
Deduct, rebates, refunds, discounts, etc.*						
Actual earnings from operating		52,962.70		41,900.61		22,413.43
a. Net revenue from op. (or deficiency).		24,779.88		10,732.63		†1,435.71
b. Other revenue or income (from sources other than operating)		434.20				200.35
c. Appropriations for operating provided by the municipality from general funds.						
Total available income		25,214.08		10,732.63		†1,235.36
Additional requirements which should be provided from available income. (Disposition of available income.)						
11. Interest on funded and floating debts		90.67		3,957.70		633.81
Remainder of available income		25,123.41		6,774.93		†2,051.17
12. Reserved for sinking funds.						
13. Reserved for amortization funds.						
14. Reserved for other funds.						
Total reserves.						
15. Dividends (private plants)	9,392.00				3,000.00	
16. Appropriation to general city funds (public plants).						
Total disposition of available income.		9,392.00				3,000.00
Credit (or debit) balance transferable to "surplus"		15,731.41		6,774.93		†5,051.17

* Discounts deducted previously. † Debit balance.

Reports from Ten Electric and Gas-Electric Companies in Massachusetts arranged upon Standard Schedules. For the purpose of showing the discrepancies and gaps in the present forms of statement. Covering the year ending June 30, 1905.

COMPANIES.	ORANGE. [Electric.]		COHASSET. [Electric.]		LEE. [Electric.]	
Population	5,500		5,900		4,600	
Expense of Operating.						
1. Expense of manufacture.						
Operation	1,687.25		5,173.88		5,313.96	
Maintenance	932.43		242.53		395.58	
Gas purchased.						
		2,619.68		5,416.41		5,909.54
2. Expense of distribution.						
Operation	1,561.64		1,266.73		279.91	
Maintenance	424.72		1,122.81		60.63	
		1,986.36		2,389.54		340.54
3. General expense		1,883.62		1,074.06		967.48
		6,489.66		8,880.01		7,217.56
4. Taxes		502.82		284.47		373.49
5. Franchises.						
6. Leaseholds, rentals, etc.						
7. Insurance		330.16		464.41		181.13
8. Damages.						
9. Guaranty.						
10. Depreciation		6,000.00		1,500.00		526.48
Total expense of operating		13,322.64		11,208.89		8,298.66
Revenue from Operating.						
Earnings from public services	4,033.83		5,700.00		2,579.50	
Earnings from private consumers	8,745.28		8,232.57		9,303.77	
Earnings from by-products, etc.	113.15					
Total	12,892.26		13,932.57		11,883.27	
Deduct, rebates, refunds, discounts, etc.*						
Actual earnings from operating		12,892.26		13,932.57		11,883.27
a. Net revenue from op. (or deficiency)		†430.38		2,903.68		3,584.61
b. Other revenue or income from sources other than operating		212.04				13.05
c. Appropriations for operating provided by the municipality from general funds.						
Total available income		†218.34		2,903.68		3,597.86
Additional requirements which should be provided from available income. (Disposition of available income.)						
11. Interest on funded and floating debts		2,519.00		970.96		1,506.55
Remainder of available income		†2,737.34		1,932.72		2,091.31
12. Reserved for sinking funds.						
13. Reserved for amortization funds.						
14. Reserved for other funds.						
Total reserves.						
15. Dividends (private plants)	1,800.00				1,500.00	
16. Appropriation to general city funds (public plants).						
Total disposition of available income.		1,800.00				1,500.00
Credit (or debit) balance transferable to "surplus"		†4,537.34		1,932.72		591.31

* Discounts deducted previously. † Debit balance.

Municipal Operation in Duluth, Minn.

By L. N. CASE, Duluth,

Manager and Secretary of the Water and Light Commission.

I am asked to prepare a paper for the National Municipal League, which is to be "a statement of the condition before municipal operation and since, with a comparison of the results from the point of view of the service and final returns." My paper is "to be free as possible from technical terms and unnecessary details." In other words, *I am to talk business.*

The Purchase of the Plants.

The water and gas plants were purchased by the city August 1st, 1898, from the private company operating them. Previous to that time the rates for water were by meter 37½ cents per 100 feet for ordinary consumption, and for families on flat rate $9.00 in five rooms, and $1.00 for each room in excess: for bath each $5.00, water closets each $5.00 and wash basins $4.00 each. This will be sufficient of the schedule for comparison.

Rates for gas were: net lighting $1.90, and $1.00 for fuel. The amount of "gas sold" the year the city bought the plant was twenty million feet in round numbers. For some time previous to the purchase a great and growing discontent pervaded all classes, not only with the character of the service rendered, but also with the quality of the water furnished.

Some two years previous to the purchase of the plants, and at which time negotiations were pending for their purchase, so determined were the people that they would not submit longer to the impositions of the company that steps were taken to parallel the plants if a satisfactory conclusion could not be reached in these negotiations.

To the end, first, that the supply of water should be pure and wholesome beyond all question, it was determined to establish a pumping works nine miles further down the lake, to construct a 42-inch force main therefrom and a 13½ million gallon reservoir thereon, and for these purposes issued $1,106,000 of bonds, upon which is an annual interest burden of $55,300. This construction was nearly completed and preparations were being made to parallel the mains of the two systems when the negotiations for the purchase of the plants came to a successful issue, and the transfer was made; the city paying the Company for its entire holdings $1,250,000, which sum was also obtained by the sale of bonds upon which was an annual interest of $55,900.

Operation.

The operation of the two plants was then placed in the hands of a commission of five citizens, with the express understanding and expectation that from their earnings all expenses for operation and maintenance would be met, and, in addition, both the interest burdens described above, amounting to $111,000 annually. Hydrant rentals and payments for the various uses of water by the City were continued to the Department as previously to the Company: and, in fact, with the additional handicap of the $55,300 interest as above, less the taxes amounting to $13,478, the conditions of the operations of the department were practically the same as those of the Company, with the exception of the additional expense of pumping water nine miles farther.

Results.

Now, briefly, as to the results: The service is improved at least to this extent: no discriminations exist as to charges, discounts, rebates, etc., etc. In other words: The principle of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none" is rigidly maintained. Gradual but continuous reductions in rates have been made, regulated simply by the amount of reduction that the surplus earnings would permit, without any regard, up to the present time, of the obligation resting upon the city of providing a fund for the redemption of the bonds. The main endeavor so far has been to get the water rates down to a point where they would cease to be burdensome, and as to the gas to make it so cheap that the people could not afford to use electric light or coal for cooking.

The result as to the quantity of gas sold is almost phenomenal. Last year over 110 million feet were sold, and that of January last was 53⅝% increase over that of January, 1905.

The present water rates are: 17½ cents per 100 feet for ordinary consumption, with flat rates for families $6.00 per annum in five rooms, with 50 cents each additional room: Bath tubs, water closets and wash basins, $2.00 each; less than one-half those of the Company.

Gas, 75 cents net for all consumption excepting for heating of premises and gas engines, which is 50 cents.

The interest on the supplementary system, which is the price Duluth has paid for its pure and wholesome water, and which is additional to the cost of its supply by the private Company, aggregates in the seven years of operation $386,800. Reductions of rates, both water and gas, aggregate to January 1st, 1906, $630,961.99. The accumulated savings of the Board, most of which have been invested in new extensions, aggregate $121,181.25.

As a loss or partial offset to these benefits the Department received from the tax levy an aggregate of $65,206.29, provided in the City Charter at a half mill rate "to be used exclusively in the reduction of water rates." The taxes voided by the purchase aggregate $116,651.65 to January 1, 1906. The subsequent purchase of the West Duluth Water Plant for $140,000 voided a possible water rate from the private company of $15,000 for three years. This leaves a balance of $942,085.30, which is the aggregate result in cash profits to the people of Duluth during the seven years operation of the plants.

It will not be surprising if some kindly disposed persons express doubts as to the above statements, inasmuch as some of our own reputable citizens have been known to do so at various times. In fact, so public and persistent became these statements last year that the Board of Water and Light Commissioners urged upon the council the necessity of having the affairs and bookkeeping of this department thoroughly overhauled by some well known reputable Accountants.

Doubts.

Pursuant to this, Mitchell Marwick & Co., were employed to

examine the books of the Department during its entire operation, and with the result that we secured a verdict of "Not Guilty," together with the statement that the affairs of the Department had been conducted "honestly and intelligently." Under the influence of and actuated by a circular letter received from your Secretary subsequent to the preparation of the foregoing, I desire to add:

In regard to the first and second of the final questions in said letter, as to what is necessary in organization to ensure the success of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities,

What Experience has Taught.

I am well grounded in the faith, after thirty years' experience, that the control of their affairs must be kept entirely free from political influences. To that end a department of the city government should be created by charter amendment, in which should be vested the exclusive jurisdiction of the operations of the utility in question, wih, of course, such restrictions and limitations as it may appear wise to enact.

The control of this Department should then be imposed upon a non-partisan Board to serve without remuneration and for a term of years, one expiring each year, appointed by the Mayor, or better still, by the Circuit Court, the judges acting *en banc* in making their selection.

Very possibly it might be well to leave with the Common Council certain powers of supervision or even a necessity of its approval of all extensions, but it should be borne in mind that always, and every community, the enemies of municipal ownership are active and powerful, and usually acquire control of this body sufficiently at least to influence its action upon matters that are of interest to themselves. The very fact that there are exceptions to this proves its truth.

To the last question I would say, that if it can be shown that a commensurate, or greater, good has been obtained, then it in no way militates against the successful operation of a plant in that it receives an annual appropriation from the tax levy. As an illustration: The Charter of Duluth requires an appropriation at the rate of one-half mill to be paid annually to the Water and Light Department to be used exclusively in the reduction of its

water rates. From this source the aggregate receipts to January 1, 1906, amounted to $65,206, while the aggregate reduction in its water rates during this period have amounted to $381,802. Had this appropriation not been made its reductions would simply have been that much less.

Whatever claims may be made or arguments used against the municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, this great truth stands out impregnable: the people own the streets which constitute a consderable portion of the several plants that furnish these utilities, and which, under franchises granted private companies, are given over to the use of said companies without any compensation being received by the people therefore.

The imposition of a tax on a private company, at a percentage on its gross or net earnings, is frequently resorted to as a cure for this evil; but I hold that such legislation enhances the evil, as this tax comes as a matter of fact out of the pockets of the patrons of the utility, who are by this means forced to contribute to the benefit of the whole community.

Take the street car traffic as an example: the great majority of those who patronize street cars are from the working and middle classes, who are obliged to have their homes in the suburbs, as they cannot afford to live in the thickly settled portions of a city.

It is true that with some other utilities this may operate to the imposition of a burden upon the wealthier classes almost exclusively, yet this in no wise weakens the charge, that an exactment of this description is class legislation pure and simple.

The apprehension that the people cannot, or will not, transact their own business honestly and intelligently, should not stand in the way of their having their rights! Nor will it! The time for successful opposition has passed! You may cry "Peace, peace, but there is no peace—the war has already begun!" Let those who have doubts stand aside! Their day is over!

Municipal Operation in Detroit.

By FREDERICK F. INGRAM,
Former President Public Lighting Commission of Detroit.

The story of Detroit's Public Lighting Plant may be told in a few words. It does only public lighting—streets, parks and public buildings.

What Detroit Pays for Electricity.

The annual budget of the Detroit Lighting Commission is now before the Board of Estimates. The Detroit Public Lighting Commission asks 1.98 cents per K. W. hour. By adding the fixed charges for Detroit's investment, (interest, depreciation and lost taxes) to the cash asked for, for operation, the gross cost per K. W. hour for the year beginning June 30, 1906, will be 3⅓ cents.

Cost for Year Covered by Last Annual Report—

Operating cost	.02063	cts. per K. W. hour.
Gross cost	.0358	" " "

I understand that in June, 1094, the city of Boston made a five year contract with a private company for lighting her public buildings at the price of 10 cents per K. W. hour. Thus Boston pays about three times as much for this service as does Detroit. Cost per 2000 candle power arc light for fiscal year ending June 30th, 1905, cash cost $34.99, gross cost $59.34. The gross cost is obtained by adding to the cash cost, certain fixed charges.

For instance, in 1905 the cash cost per 2 M. C. P. arc light for operation and maintenance was	$34.99
Depreciation (discarded machinery, etc.)	4.56
Depreciation at 3 per cent. on investment	7.78
Interest on 4 per cent. on investment	9.50
Lost taxes on investment	2.51
Total	$59.34

Considering that the 3% depreciation charge covers entire investment, ⅓ of which is real estate and conduits on which there is no depreciation and that the replacement of much of the equipment, poles, wires, docks, etc., are charged to operating account, the discarded machinery item, $4.56, in fairness could be eliminated from the gross cost.

Interest should only be computed (when comparing cost with lights under private contract) on the excess sum expended, which is greater in municipal operation the first five years but much less for the second five years, the aggregate being less for the ten year period.

Also under municipal ownership Detroit has had better service (as, for instance, "lamp hours out" referred to later on) and more equitable distribution, which is determined by actual local needs, instead of "pull." Deducting these two items, $4.56 and $9.50, we have this result: 2 M candle power arc light, net gross cost, $45.28.

On June 30th, 1905, Detroit completed its first ten years of municipal ownership of a public lighting plant.

Cost of Public Lighting During 10 Years—

There were of 2000 candle-power arc street lights operated in	1905, 3005
Incandescent lights in public buildings	1905, 14,696
Original cost of plant, 1895	$655,508.90
Total expenditure on plant to June 30, 1905	456,946.50
First cost and subsequent investment	$1,112,455.40
In ten years all other expenditures (administration, labor, fuel, material, etc.)	1,059,996.40
Total cost to June 30th, 1905	$2,172,451.80
An average per year of	$217,245.08
Stating the total output, including incandescent lamps and motors, in arc lights, the total of arc lights for the ten years is	24,788
An average of arc lights per year of	2,479
Reduced to K. W. hours	41,060,920
Total cost to the city of Detroit from June 30th, 1895, to June 30th, 1905, for 2 M. C. P. arc lights per year is	$87.63

Comparison with Buffalo.

I understand Buffalo's ten year contract 1896-1905 started with $117.75 per 2 M. C. P. arc lights. In 1897-1902 it was $100 per arc, after 1902 it was $75.00 per arc light yer year. This makes the average cost per arc light for the ten years' contract in Buffalo $91.77 per year.

Detroit's average cost same period $87.63. Cost of arc lights in Buffalo ten years ending June 30th 1905, exceeds cost in Detroit per arc light $4.14.

Adding to the cost of Detroit arc lights, the taxes lost on the Detroit plant because it is municipally owned (and which *may* be paid on the privately owned Buffalo plant) at the Detroit assessed valuation and tax rate, the arc light still cost over $1.00 per arc light per year more in Buffalo than in Detroit.

Buffalo has nothing to show for this ten years expenditure but receipted bills. Detroit has *that* and besides *that*, an up-to-date, perfectly equipped public lighting plant that cannot be duplicated for $1,000,000. So while Detroit's public lights the past ten years have cost the city, including the total cost of the lighting plant less than Buffalo's lights have cost her, Detroit has made a $1,000,000 plant besides.

The aggressive opposition of municipal ownership advocates has hus far prevented a renewal of the Buffalo contract. It has, however, forced the bids of the private electrical corporation down to $54.00 per arc per year and 9c. per K. W. hour instead of 12c. as a maximum for private consumption.

If municipal ownership is headed off by a nominal charge for public lights the private corporation will still have a monopoly of supplying one-half million consumers with electricity for light and power at a price that is nearly three times the present constantly diminishing gross cost at the Detroit public lighting plant. Electricity in Detroit is produced from coal hauled a long distance. Buffalo's is generated at Niagara Falls.

Cost Compared Under Public and Private Ownership.

Under public ownership actual cost of service is covered by operating expenses, depreciation, betterment, and a sinking fund. Under private ownership the charge must cover these and in addition a (1) fair dividend on the actual capital

invested, (2) dividends on any securities issued in excess of the actual investment, (3) to pay back within the life of the franchise not only the capital invested but the fictitious capitalization on watered stock. (4) "Legal expenses" a polite term that covars blackmail by politicians and promoters and the cost of privileges and exemptions secured from legislative and other officials.

One fundamental fact should not be lost sight of when comparing public with private ownership. In both cases any saving that impairs the service goes to the benefit of the owners and is always at the expense of the public. Under public ownership the people pay only for what they get. Under private ownership they pay the price named in the franchise and the private corporations get the saving made by impaired service or lessened cost.

For instance a street car franchise will call for a 5c. fare, a speed of 12 miles an hour, a 2 minute service, comfortable cars and enough cars to prevent crowding. Operating expenses and equipment cost is reduced by speeding to 20 miles an hour with 5 minute service and worn out cars that seat 60 but carry 100. The private company furnishes less cars, less crews, less capital and gives less service than it contracted to give but the public must still give the 5c. fare.

Under public ownership if the speed is raised necessitating less cars and crews, the passenger gets the saving because the fare is the cost of service. If passengers would willingly submit to bad and crowded cars and long waits, they would also pay less, because such service costs less.

Eliminate the dividends and you eliminate the hanging straps, it is merely a question of cars and crews. The management of a public utility runs the service to please the owner. The private owner is most pleased with poor service and increased dividends, so as poor service as will be tolerated is the usual result. The last year of Detroit's lighting by private contract "lamp hours out" were 86,426. Average number "lamp hours out" per year in Detroit under municipal ownership 5988, notwithstanding double the service was given. The public owner is most pleased with good service, as a consequence good service is given.

Detroit has profited in many other ways by owning her lighting plant. For instance, this service has been taken out of politics, but few changes in the personnel of the working force occur, appointments and promotions depend on merit, while city politics is freed from the corrupting influence of political deals, so far as the public lighting service is concerned.

Public Ownership Improves Politics

My personal views are, that cities should own and operate all public utilities within their boundaries without any qualifications or exceptions whatever. Without reference to a city's inability to acquire or exercise ownership, there should be in such a city no farther franchise grants whatever.

A well governed city must be a self-governed city. Self-government is impossible if the people's control is weakened and made ineffective through grants of government functions to private corporations. The private corporations under such circumstances of necessity must either govern the city or practically destroy its government, insofar as a government is a reflection of the wishes or aspirations or average morality of the citizens.

There cannot be efficient city government with public utilities in private hands. The first consideration should be, to get them out of private hands, when, other reforms will be possible. As in European cities under such improved conditions, city governments here will become more efficient and less corrupt. Fighting inefficiency and corruption will be a losing battle so long as the governmental functions of municipalities are divided between the municipality and private corporations.

Logansport, Indiana, Electric Light Department.

By D. J. LOFTUS,
Superintendent of the Electric Lighting Plant.

For the benefit of citizens or communities who may favor Municipal Ownership, I respectfully submit to the League a short history of our experience in municipal lighting in our city. Our municipal electric light plant was established in the year of 1894, and our city was lighted for the first time by our municipal plant on January 1st, 1895. Our equipment at that time consisted of three D. C. machines, capacity of 60 lights each, of 9.6 amp. lamps, and two A. C. machines, 1,100 volt primary, 16,000 alt., and 133 cycles of 1250 light capacity each, and three 125 H. P. high-speed engines, and one 65 H. P. high-speed engine, and three 36-inch water turbine wheels, and two 48-inch turbine water wheels, and five 100 H. P. low pressure tubular boilers, all constructed complete to furnish D. C. of 9.6 amp. of 45-50 volts at lamp of 2000 candle power each, the number of lamps at that time in use, the same being the original installation, was 157 lamps and 1200 inc. lamps. The Council at that time thought that the number would be satisfactory, for several years. However, during the summer of the year 1895, the increasing demand for incandescent lighting was so great that the two 1250 A. C. machines could not supply the demand, and they were exchanged for two 90 K. W. machines of the same make. During the next year, 1896, the demand for light increased so that the city was compelled to increase the capacity of the plant, and they did so by installing one Buckeye engine of 250-H. P. capacity, and one 90 K. W. Westinghouse alternator and one 60-light

History of the Plant.

Excelsior D. C. arc machines of 9.6 amp., both belted to the Buckeye engine.

During the next year 1897, the demand for light again increased, so that the city, in order to comply with the demands, was obliged to install more machinery, and this they did by installing a 470 H. P. Erie City 4-valve engine, and one 250 K. W. Westinghouse generator. During the next year the city exchanged the Excelsior arc machine and the 90 K. W. Westinghouse generator that was belted to the 240 H. P. engine, and installed in the place of the same a 200 K. W. A. C. generator, and with this change the city removed their D. C. arc commercial circuit, and installed a multiple A. B.—A. C. arc lamp in place of the same. During the year, 1899, the city built a new boiler room, and installed a new battery of boilers in the same, consisting of two water tube boilers, capacity 250 H. P. each. During the next year the city installed one Cookston water heater of 1000 capacity; all of which is now the working power of our plant.

Conditions in the City.

Up to the present time the city has increased its street lamps from 157 to 197 lamps D. C. of 2000 C. P. each, and eleven 6 glower Nernst lamps distributed on every down-town business corner. Before the city built its own plant it was paying to a private corporation $5,175 for 45 street lamps. The original cost for A. C. current was 7 cents per K. W., and in 1899 the price of current was reduced to 5 cents per K. W., and remained at that price for two years, and they found during that time that the plant could not be made self-sustaining at that price, and during the year 1901 the price was raised to 6 cents per K. W., which price prevails at the present time. We have 20 single phase motors connected on to our circuits, rangng from ½ H. P. to 10 H. P. each, all giving good satisfaction. Our peak load at the switchboard during the past year was 642 K. W., and our minum load was 88 K. W., making the average all-day load 175 K. W. We have at present in our city 3000 consumers all on meter measurement, and we figure approximately that we have 36,000 16 C. P. lamps installed in our city. The original cost of the plant was $52,000, and now our plant is worth $151,000, and we

have 500 miles of wire in electrical use in our city. Our electric light plant is self-sustaining on our actual receipts from incandescent lighting from consumers, and our city gets all her street lighting free of cost, also school buildings (6), all fire-houses (4), public library, hospitals, all city offices and all other public institutions in our city, all of which receive light free, without any compensation whatever, and at all of that we consider Logansport, Ind., one of the best and well lighted cities in the country.

Municipal Ownership in Jacksonville, Florida.

By J. M. BARRS, City Attorney.

Municipal ownership of public utilities has been an important political issue in the City of Jacksonville for about twelve years, and now no candidate for office dares admit opposition to that proposition. There is, however, at every session of the Florida Legislature more or less of an effort to antagonize the proposition, and, because of the fact that the Florida Legislature uniformly passes any local legislation which is agreed on by the members of the Senate and House from the county affected, it is necessary that the friends of municipal ownership shall be careful in the selection of members of the Legislature, at least at those elections when members of the State Senate are elected.

Water Works.

The City of Jacksonville put in a municipal water-works system in 1880, and this system has been very satisfactorily managed, with the result that the city owns a very valuable waterworks plant, which furnishes pure artesian well water at very reasonable rates and with considerable direct profit to the city. For some reason, even among the opponents of the general ownership and operation by municipalities of public utilities, there is seldom objection to municipal ownership of waterworks plants. Just why any one should maintain that municipal ownership and operation of waterworks plants is desirable, but that the same rule will not apply to other public utilities, is a mystery to me.

Efforts, more or less vigorous, had been made from time to time prior to 1894 to procure the installation by the municipality of an electric plant, but the influence actively asserted at every election by a privately owned electric company, actively assisted

by the gas company, prevented this until just after an election in 1894, when the active and open attempt to influence voters by the electric and gas companies aroused the city council to the necessity of doing something. The city council then authorized the construction and maintenance of a municipal electric plant. Of course the city authorities were hampered as much as possible by those opposing municipal ownership, and they were forced to get a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Florida as to the rights of the city to install the plant and to furnish electricity to private consumers, before the contest ended.

Electric Plant.

The City of Jacksonville installed an electric plant, which was completed and turned over by the contractors to the city authorities for operation May 1, 1895. The total cost of the plant was $76,675.99, to pay which the city issued $75,000.00 of five per cent. bonds,—the price received for the bonds being sufficient to pay the cost of the plant. Private consumers of electricity were then paying to the existing private corporation engaged in the electric business 28 cents per kilowatt for the electricity used by them, and the price charged the city was also very high. The city authorities have, since May 1, 1895, operated the electric plant as a department separate and distinct from all other departments, and all of its accounts are kept just as though the electric plant were owned by a separate corporation and the city officials in charge of the plant were directors of a private corporation, excepting only as to the publicity of its accounts.

Full and detailed statements of the accounts of the electric plant are published at regular intervals, and the books are always open to inspection.

Reducing Rates.

May 1, 1905, the city authorities began the operation of the electric plant by reducing the price of electricity furnished to private consumers from 28 cents per kilowatt to 7 cents per kilowatt, and by making similar low rates to the city for electricity used for all purposes by the city.

January 1, 1906, after ten years and eight months of operation, this electric plant, which cost originally $76,675.99, furnishing electricity to the citizens at 7 cents per kilowatt, and with similar

reductions in the charges against the city, had returned to the city treasury, out of net profits, and over and above the cost of very greatly increasing its capacity and value, every dollar that the city had ever invested in the plant, with five per cent. interest compounded annually, and $64,927.74 additional. The profits of that plant for the month of January, of this year amounted to $12,118.96, which being added to the $64,927.74, shows that the plant has in ten years and nine months repaid to the city $370.71 more than double the entire original cost of the plant, in addition to paying 5 per cent. compound interest on the entire original cost, notwithstanding the reduction to the citizens of Jacksonville, of 75 per cent. in the cost of electricity.

Profits.

The aggregate sum put into permanent improvements during the existence of the plant, deducting loss, displacement of machinery, etc., is, according to the book accounts, $365,423.19.

For the year 1905 the cash receipts for light and power furnished consumers by the city's plant was $186,069.48, and the amount expended for operation, maintenance and repair was $91,892.82, showing a profit for the year of $94,176.66, of which latter sum $26,418.16 was invested in permanent improvements and extensions to meet the great growth of the city, and $67,758.50 was turned over in cash to the city treasurer, to be used for municipal purposes other than those connected with the electric plant.

The present value of the municipal electric plant can be estimated from these figures, but the indirect value to the city of a municipal plant, which reduced by 75 per cent. the cost to consumers of electricity, is difficult to over-estimate. The value to the city of the fact that all consumers are treated exactly alike, and that electricity is sold by the City of Jacksonville as postage stamps are sold by the United States Government, at the same price to large and small consumers, is also hard to estimate; but the advantage from a sanitary standpoint of furnishing electricity for lighting purposes to the poor at a price less than would cost the use of kerosene and the maintenance of lamps, will be appreciated by those interested in the improvement of sanitary conditions.

Value of Plant.

The steady and rapid growth of the profits of the municipal electric plant is well established by taking consecutively the profits for the past five years. The profits for the year 1901 were

Growth of Profits.

$31,574.03 (the profits for that year were greatly reduced by the fact that our great fire of May 3rd, 1901, had destroyed the buildings in which about seventy-five per cent. of the electricity was being used). In 1902 the profits were $53,761.27. In 1903, $74,006.66. In 1904, $79,916.13. In 1905, $94,176.66,—an average profit for the past three years of $82,699.82, or just $6,023.83 more per annum than the original entire cost of the plant; and the profits of the plant for the first month of the year 1906 are $11,118.96.

There is no possible jugglery of figures or bookkeeping involved in this account. The city authorities annually publish full and complete statements of the operation of the electric

Statements.

plant, and the accounts are regularly examined and audited by expert accountants, who are not city officials or employees, except that they are employed to investigate and audit the accounts.

In addition to the advantages of municipal ownership of this plant is to be credited the fact that the Jacksonville Electric Company, a street railway company which does an electric lighting business of about fifty thousand dollars per annum in connection with its street railroad operation, is forced by the city's prices to furnish electricity at the same price that the city does. The friends of municipal ownership also look with pleasure to the fact that the franchise under which the street railroad com-

Street Railway Lighting.

pany furnishes electric lights and power to consumers expires January 18, 1911, a little less than five years off, and there is a profit at the present prices in that business of about $30,000.00 a year,—the street railroad company doing only such business as is very profitable, having contracts with the Union Terminal Company and some other corporations which do not like to encourage municipal ownership. This franchise can not be extended, even were the city authorities so disposed, unless some State legislation can be obtained changing the present provisions of the city charter.

The profits of the waterworks for the past five years have been as follows:

Water Works Profits.

1901	$31,702.46
1902	35,474.46
1903	41,273.46
1904	45,531.32
1905	49,265.36

Other Advantages.

Further than waterworks and electric plant, the city has not gone into the question of municipal ownership as a practical proposition, except that the city is now furnishing electricity to one street railway at a considerable profit. That the City of Jacksonville would get the necessary authority and go into the street railway business, should the street railway service by private corporations prove unsatisfactory, is believed in Jacksonville, and this belief is no small factor in the guaranteeing to the city of a first-class street railroad service.

How Accomplished.

Perhaps something on the subject of how these results have been accomplished may be interesting. Prior to 1893, the street railway company and the electric light company and the gas company and the various railroads entering Jacksonville at every election entered vigorously into our municipal campaigns, intimidating their employees and furnishing corruption funds for use by those who could be relied on by them to favor them at the expense of the city. The spectacle of officers of these companies taking an active hand in the city primary when the candidates were to be nominated for city offices, and especially the fact that the superintendent of the electric light company stood at the primary election polls and openly threatened one of his employees should he vote for certain candidates who were opposed by his company, was used with such effect in the city council in 1904, in spite of the vigorous opposition of those corporations, as to enable the friends of a municipal electric plant to secure the assistance in the passing of the necessary ordinances of some councilmen who

would otherwise have been too conservative so to vote; and the city officials then decided that city employees could not prove as dangerous to the purity of election as had been proven to be the influence of private corporations.

The city put in its electric plant and the old electric light company went out of business and transferred its franchise to the street railroad company. The gas company was forced, by the reduction of 75 per cent. in the cost of electricity, to reduce greatly its charges for gas, and, taking the lesson taught by the establishment of a municipal electric plant to heart, the gas company has never since that time been known to take any hand in municipal politics. The street railway companies were shortly afterwards, in other ways, taught effectively the lesson that they must not attempt to control municipal affairs. Practically speaking, since the installation of the municipal electric plant, public service corporations have abstained from open interference in city elections, and the result has worked wonders for improved city government.

Effects Politically.

There is not one line of state or municipal law or ordinance affecting the civil service with reference to the employees of the waterworks or electric plant, and yet in the past ten years it is not believed that there has been a political appointment or removal made in connection with either of these municipal properties, and the public sentiment is such as to give the best possible civil service protection to these employees, not one of whom ever attempts to obtrude himself at election time. Public sentiment, and public sentiment alone, is and must be relied upon to protect these properties and to guarantee their best management.

Civil Service.

Under the charter of the City of Jacksonville, which, by the way, the city can change at any time to suit itself, by ordinance approved by the electors, vests the management and control of the electric plant, the waterworks, sewer department, the police and fire departments, in an executive board of nine members, one of whom is elected each year by the city council for a term of nine years. This executive board consists of nine as representative business men as are to be found on the directory of any bank or other private

Management.

corporation in the city. The chairman of the board receives $400.00 per annum, and none of the other members receive any compensation whatever; and yet there is probably not a business man in the City of Jacksonville who would not feel honored by election to membership on that board, which numbers among its members the Superintendent of this Division of the Western Union Telegraph Company, two of our ablest lawyers, the president of the largest National Bank in the city, the president of the largest dry goods establishment in the city, the vice-president in charge of the banking department of the largest state banking and trust company, the president of one of the two largest wholesale grocery establishments in the city, and two more of our best business men,—and all take an active interest in attending to their official duties as closely as to their private affairs.

Favorable Conditions.

I will admit that I believe that we have peculiarly favorable political conditions here. Jacksonville is a very prosperous, growing city, having more than doubled its population in the past ten years. In the past five years it has very nearly doubled its postal receipts, and its bank clearings have increased in the past five years from $12,733,048.64, in 1900, to $59,962,427.38, in 1905, which are good evidences of its prosperity.

Political Conditions.

Florida has an absolutely straight Australian ballot system, which is in and of itself a thoroughly reliable educational qualification—all candidates for each office being printed on the official ballot in alphabetical order, without distinction of any kind, and each voter is required to indicate his choice for each office by making a cross mark in front of the name of the candidate he desires to vote for, which, of course, disqualifies all except those who can read a name on the ballot and have sufficient acquaintance with the names of the candidates to select them in the privacy of a voting booth. To vote at a city election in the City of Jacksonville the elector must have, practically, resided in the city of Jacksonvile two years, which gives time for acquaintance with political conditions and eliminates the floating vote. In the City of Jacksonville nominations to municipal office

are all made by direct vote in primaries, except that independent candidates may be nominated by petition under the Australian ballot system. Nominations in primaries for city offices are made in "non-partisan primaries;" any white qualified elector who will be authorized to vote in the city election being eligible to vote in the primary, regardless of whether he be a democrat, a republican, a socialist, or what not, so long as he is a white qualified elector and able to vote under the Australian system. The elimination of the influence of public-service corporations from our primaries and elections in the city is almost complete, and this is attributable clearly to the experience of the old electric light company and the certainty that the citizens stand ready to go further should occasion require.

Opposition.

But the friends of municipal ownership, here at least, can never afford to forget that its opponents stand ever ready to deal it a blow. The peculiar conditions growing out of that "legislative courtesy," which enables the senators and representatives in the State Legislature to pass any local act upon which they may agree, is a never-failing source of danger. While no candidate will announce his opposition to municipal ownership, those friendly to that principle have to bear in mind that there are always candidates who are not friendly to it.

City Charter Provisions.

The city charter of the City of Jacksonville now contains many provisions put in it by the friends of municipal ownership, such as the requirement that no municipal franchise for a street railway or other local public utility can be granted, except by city ordinance approved by the electors of the city, and no franchise can be granted or extended for water or electricity, and no additional privilege can be granted to any street railroad which is engaged in furnishing electricity to consumers; but these provisions can be changed by act of the legislature at any session, and the legislature has power to grant directly municipal franchises for public utilities. The friends of municipal ownership are now seeking additional legislation to enable the city to issue bonds for the construction or purchasing of street railways and other public utilities, for which purpose additional authority must be obtained before such properties can be so acquired.

With the tremendous growth of profits to the city from the operation of the waterworks and electric plants has grown up the idea that, if the city also owned and operated its street railroad, gas works and telephone exchange with the same success which has attended municipal operation of waterworks and electric plants, these public utilities could be furnished to the citizens at very small cost compared with the cost when furnished by private companies and still abolish all direct taxation.

Perplexing Questions.

About the only difference of opinion now existing among the friends of municipal ownership exists over the question as to whether the price of water and electricity should be much reduced below the present very low prices, thereby relieving the users of water and electricity to the extent of the reduction, or should the large profits from these public utilities be used by the city for public improvements. So far, owing to the very rapid growth of the City of Jacksonville, the profits can be very profitably used by the city in public improvements.

Municipal Electrical Lighting Plant, Lincoln, Neb.*

By JOHN S. BISHOP, Lincoln, Neb.

This plant has been in operation a little over six months and has proved satisfactory. The total cost of the plant was $86,690.80, not including the real estate upon which the power house was constructed, which cost $800, and was paid out of the funds of the Water Department. The "Hutton Lighting Station" is located at 29th and A street, being on the southeast edge of the city, and consequently over a mile from the center of the load. This location was selected in order to consolidate the lighting station with the "Mockett Pumping Station," which is planned to be the permanent water station of the city, and will be as soon as improvements now under way are completed. The power house cost $14,380.00. The installation consists of three horizontal water tube boilers of rated capacity of 150 horse power, each generating steam at 150 pounds pressure. There are two engines built by the Murray Iron Works. The generators and exciters were purchased from Gilbert, Wilkes & Company. The poles and wires were constructed by the Nebraska Electric Company of Omaha, Nebraska. The switch board is complete and up-to-date. The plant fur-

Cost of Plant.

* I have prepared a statement of the operation of our Municipal Electric Lighting Plant for the six months that it has been in operation, and beg to enclose you the same herewith. I hope that this covers the points that you desire and will answer the questions you would like to have answered. But you will appreciate that I am somewhat in the dark. I am not entirely satisfied with the report of the City Electrician. It does not include any items of taxes or depreciation. The depreciation the City Electrician says he thinks will be 7 per cent., and taxes would be $325, as I roughly estimated.—JOHN S. BISHOP.

nishes 330 enclosed arc lamps, which are suspended over the center of the street intersections, as all night lamps. The bonds voted for this plant are only $65,000.00 upon which was obtained a premium of $1000; the balance of $20,000 cost of constructing had to be taken care of out of other funds, and $6000 of it has been charged to constructing and paid out of the lighting fund for the current year.

What the Plant Furnishes.

The plant also furnishes incandescent light for lighting the City Hall and other city buildings. No current thus far has been sold for commercial purposes. The last legislature granted the city power to do commercial lighting, and plans are maturing by which an income from this source may be obtained in the not distant future. Electric motors and pumps have been also ordered and will be installed within a few months for use in the water department, which will concentrate the burning of coal at the single central station and result in a saving to the Water Department, which has heretofore maintained three separate pumping stations, of fully $5000 annually.

The report of the City Electrician of the lighting plant for six months ending February 28, 1906, is as follows:

Total warrants issued to date	$19,046.61
Bills due for which warrants are not issued	659.51
	$19,706.12

EXPENDITURES AS FOLLOWS:

Operating expenses, six months, including interest	$8,650.05
Six months' interest in advance	1,462.50
Gas, paid	1,047.44
Construction	6,745.89
Value of stock in hand	900.24
Total	19,706.12

Expenses.

SUMMARY OF OPERATING EXPENSES.

Interest	$1,462.50
Miscellaneous expenses	50.80
Coal	2,737.80
Oil and waste	133.04

Packing	34.00
Miscellaneous	152.65
Carbons	160.56
Arc globes	99.34
Pipe and fittings	17.50
Arc lamp repairs	30.00
Office supplies	7.00
Pay-roll	3,755.73
Total	$4,650.05

Total lamp hours	440,454	
Total K. W. hours for arcs	236,216	
Total K. W. hours for inc.	8,219	
Total K. W. hours generated	244,435	
Average cost per lamp, per month		$4.34
Average cost per K. W. hour		.0358

Auditor's Report. The annual report of the City Auditor for the year ending March 31, 1906, will be published in a few weeks, and will contain fuller information. As near as I can learn an itemized statement of the costs of the plant is as follows:

Power-house without real estate	$14,380.39
Steam pumps	396.00
Hot-water heaters and purifiers	360.00
Transformers	194.25
Generators and exciters and installation	7,490.00
Boilers and engines	12,200.00
Poling and wiring	36,448.48
Switch-boards, etc.	8,030.20
Steam, water and exhaust connections	3,282.92
Fees for consulting engineers	3,312.62
Miscellaneous	596.03
Total	$86,690.89

One Mayor's Experience.

By HON. JAMES M. HEAD,

Former Mayor of Nashville, Tennessee.

As an earnest believer and advocate, both from a theoretical and practical standpoint in the municipal ownership of all public utilities, I thought possibly the experiences of an effort of four years as Mayor of a city of some hundred thousand inhabitants might prove of interest to other parties engaged in similar character of work. And I wish to say in the beginning, that I believe the advocates of municipal ownership will probably find that the most serious difficulty with which they have to contend will be the inability of the cities to become possessed of those public utilities. Unfortunately in almost every city rights have been granted, interests have become vested, property rights involved to such an extent that the public will find it exceedingly difficult to again come into the possession of the rights of which they should never have been divested.

The Water Works.

I may say that in the city of Nashville, Tennessee, the city has owned its water works since 1834. It has proven eminently satisfactory. The Superintendent of the water works who was in charge when I became Mayor of the city, had been superintendent for twenty-four years. Through all the changes of administration no political influences had changed his position. The result was, and is, that the operation of these water works has proven entirely satisfactory to the public. An ordinary family of five persons pay for their water supply from six to twelve dollars a year. The water tax collected pays all the interest on the bonds that have ever been issued for building the water works. It pays for the extensions that are necessarily made, and in addition to

that pays into the general funds of the city from ten to twenty thousand dollars a year. If any one should suggest the turning over of the water company to a private corporation, he would very soon be dumped into the river.

Very much to my surprise, I found myself a candidate for Mayor in the summer of 1899, and found myself an earnest advocate of municipal ownership of all public utilities, and as usual, or as is frequent, at least, I found myself assailed by the public press, denounced as an anarchist and generally abused.

Personal Experience.

After the election, one of the first things that I realized was that the charter of the gas company, which had been in existence for fifty years, expired, and its license to do business in the city expired within a few months after I came into office. The question had to be dealt with at once. Should a new license be granted, or should the city undertake to operate its gas works? I found the city had no authority to operate a gas plant, and no authority to issue bonds to buy the plant even if it desired to do so.

What was to be done? We were confronted with a condition that had to be met. The result was that, as a public official, I was compelled to make the best compromise that I could with the gas company and make a settlement. I could not obtain authority from the Legislature to operate a gas plant or to issue the bonds that were necessary to buy the old one, until the State Legislature met, which was nearly two years. You know a city can do nothing except what the Legislature permits it to do. That is the general rule. You know cities really sustain the same relation to the State that married women or infants or idiots or lunatics do to a sane person. That is the way they are usually treated. And I found myself therefore utterly powerless to accomplish anything, so far as purchasing the gas company was concerned. But we did succeed in effecting a settlement with the gas company by which the price of gas was reduced from a dollar and a half to a dollar a thousand cubic feet.

Limited Franchises.

They also accepted a limited franchise of twenty years, and in addition to that we reserved to the city the right to purchase the plant at any time after ten years, upon giving twelve months' notice, by paying

to the gas company the actual value of the property, exclusive of the value of its franchise, this value to be arrived at by arbitration. In addition to that, the gas company agreed to pay the city five per cent. of its gross income, in addition to its *ad valorem* taxes.

That settlement has proven entirely satisfactory. The result has been, that the stock of the gas company, which was then selling at about ninety cents on the dollar, is to-day selling readily at about a dollar and a quarter. They have extended their pipes, are giving to the people satisfactory service, and are now selling more than double the amount of gas sold in 1899.

The Electric Lighting Plant.

The next proposition that I had to contend with was to meet the electric light company. I found the electric light company with a contract with the city for ten years, about five years of which had expired. They supplied the city with lights at eighty-five dollars per arc light per annum. They were charging the people of the city eighteen cents per kilowatt for electricity, both of which charges I regarded as extortionate. I went to the company and asked for a readjustment, and the cancellation of their contract with the city. I was laughed at. No consideration was given to me, and I was again up against a serious proposition. Fortunately, however, in looking back through the acts of the Legislature, I found authority for the city to issue one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of bonds, to buy or build an electric light plant to light the streets, but with no power to sell electricity to private consumers—simply to light the public buildings and streets of the city. The Legislature assembled in 1901, and I concluded that I would ask the Legislature to amend the city charter and give the city the power to sell electric light, heat and power to private consumers. It was a matter in which no one was concerned but the people of Nashville. The City Council unanimously endorsed it. The people of Nashville were practically unanimous for it, all except those interested in public service corporations, and I went before the Legislature thinking I would have no trouble. I had the fight of my life. Every corporate influence in Tennessee was represented before that Legislature with its personal financial and other influences to defeat that

bill and prevent the city of Nashville from acquiring that little right to sell electric light, heat and power to private consumers. I spent nearly my entire time during the session of the Legislature trying to secure that right for the city.

Finally I succeeded by a very close vote. After acquiring that power, I again endeavored to readjust the contract which the private company had with the city. They refused, and I immediately undertook the building of an electric light plant. By the time the foundations of that electric light plant were laid, the private company came forward and voluntarily (?) reduced the price of electricity to private consumers from eighteen cents to twelve cents per kilowatt. Before the plant was completed, the private company was making every contract it possibly could with private consumers for a term of years at five and six cents per kilowatt. When the plant was completed, there were about three years of their contract with the city unexpired.

I went to the representatives of the private company and told them that the city was now ready to engage in the electric light business, and wanted to know what they would do. At first nothing. But finally they concluded that the contract with the city did not pay them anything any way; that it was an expense to them, and that they had a demand for all of the light and power that their plant could furnish, and if I wanted to I could take over the lighting of the streets and public buildings of the city. So on the first of September, 1902, the city took over the lighting of its public streets. For the year prior to that, the city had paid $49,270 for lighting its streets and public buildings.

For the year after the city took charge of it we furnished to the city more than double the amount of light that we had previously had at a cost of $33,500. The cost of producing electricity, including operating expenses, interest upon bonds, repairs, improvements and everything except an estimate for the depreciation of the plant, was the first year a little over two and one-half cents per kilowatt, and it is being produced to-day at about 2.10 cents per kilowatt.

Results.

When the private company agreed for the city to take over the lighting of its streets and public buildings, I agreed with them as Mayor during the remainder of my term of office that the city

to the gas company the actual value of the property, exclusive of the value of its franchise, this value to be arrived at by arbitration. In addition to that, the gas company agreed to pay the city five per cent. of its gross income, in addition to its *ad valorem* taxes.

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myself confronted with the absurd proposition that the city had no authority under its charter to own or to operate a street car company. So that if I gained my lawsuits I was no better off in the effort to accomplish what I wanted, than I was when I started. And with my experience in attempting to obtain the little concession that I did for the city for the electric light matter, I did not have the heart to go to the Legislature and ask them to give to the city of Nashville the right to own and operate its own street cars. I knew I could not succeed, and therefore, I did not try it. I did prosecute the litigation through the courts for three years. We had a printed record of more than three thousand pages. Some very nice legal questions were involved.

The leading question, if you will indulge me, was just this: We had a law in our State that two street car companies in a city could not consolidate without the consent of the city. As the street car companies had practically owned the city for years, they regarded a little thing like the consent of the city to their consolidation as altogether immaterial. It could be brought about at any time they thought proper. So they went to work and practically effected a consolidation of three street car lines in the city, and forgot or neglected to obtain the consent of the city to that consolidation. And it was upon that ground that I asked the forfeiture of their franchises. I lost the case in the Chancery Court, I was laughed at and ridiculed by the corporation lawyers. There was nothing in it, so they said; I was simply a scheming political agitator; nothing serious back of it. But still I prosecuted it on through to our Court of Appeals, which is an intermediate court, between the trial court and the Supreme Court. The three judges all gave separate opinions, and while they were not all my way, they were not all their way, and they were very much frightened. The street car company began to realize that they were up against a very serious proposition, and in the meantime, they had gone into the hands of a receiver. Their property had run down, their service was abominable, the public was outraged at the service they were receiving, and they were very mad.

The result of that decision was that they immediately applied

A Favorable Decision.

for a settlement, and there I was with no power to avail myself for the benefit of the public of my victory in the event I finally gained it. In other words, if I had succeeded in establishing the legal propositions that they were trespassers in the streets, I was compelled to make a settlement with somebody to operate those street cars, or else stop the running of street cars, and then I would have been mobbed. So between the alternatives, I decided to compromise. In the discussion at the round table yesterday afternoon, at which one of our friends earnestly pleaded against the idea of compromising, let me tell you: When you come to the practical work of life, it is all the result of compromises. Do the best you can. (Applause). Make your fight for principles, and then when you get to the point where you are compelled to act, do the best you can for the public, and take the consequences. So I had to make a compromise. I was compelled to. I would not have stopped the running of those street cars twenty-four hours for my life. And so the terms were discussed. The general result of the compromise was about as follows: In the first place the company insisted that they had a perpetual franchise to practically every street in the city of Nashville that was worth operating a street car line on. That was the main proposition that I was contending against. They claimed to have an unlimited franchise to use those streets for all time to come. And that was what I was fighting. That was what I regarded as an infamous crime that had been committeed against humanity in granting these unlimited franchises.

Let me discuss for a moment in that connection: Instead of advocating limited franchises, let me suggest the thought of advocating a clause to be inserted in every franchise granted to

Terminable Franchises.

every public service corporation reserving the right to the public at any time to purchase the property at its value. If you insert merely a limited franchise, at the expiration of that franchise, you simply offer an inducement to the public service corporation to put whatever money is necessary into the campaign to elect their candidates, who will renew their franchises. That will occur every time. But if you reserve the right to purchase at any

time upon twelve months notice, you put them upon their good behavior as long as they are a corporation.

But to return. I was confronted with that claim for a perpetual franchise. I wanted to get rid of it. I felt that that was a great achievement if that much even could be accomplished.

The Perpetual Franchise.

So the terms of settlement as finally agreed upon were about these: They gave to the city the right at any time after twenty years to purchase their property at a valuation that I did not approve, (but it was the best that I could obtain along these lines): Taking the three years previous to any time that the city should decide to purchase the property, and averaging the income of the company for those three years, the city would then have the right to purchase that property by estimating that fifty per cent. of that gross income was used in operating expenses, and that then the remaining fifty per cent. should be capitalized on a basis that the city's bonds were selling for say, four per cent.; in other words, they should receive for their property such a sum as at four per cent., would make fifty per cent., of their average gross income. That was more than liberal to the corporation. It gives them an unusual valuation upon their property. It was the best that I could obtain, but possibly may operate better than an effort to agree upon a valuation by arbitration. Anyhow the city was to have that right to purchase at any time after twenty years. In addition to that that, the street car company agreed to pay all the cost of that three year litigation, and all the attorneys' fees that I had employed to assist me in that litigation, amounting, I believe, to about twenty-five thousand dollars.

In addition to that, they were to pay to the city ten thousand dollars for failing to keep up certain streets during the pendency of that litigation.

Compromise and Settlement.

In addition to that they were to purchase at a cost of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars a park and donate it to the city.

In addition to that they were to pay to the city two per cent. of their gross income, until their income should reach one million dollars a year, and then three per cent. upon their gross income thereafter.

In addition to that I obligated them to expend not less than one and a half million dollars in rehabilitating and building up the street car system that had been permitted to go to the dogs during the previous three years and put that system into perfect running order so as to give the people a good running service.

In addition to that they provided universal transfers, a general transfer staton, through which every car in the city passes under a shed, so that little children can go anywhere in the city with safety, get off at this transfer station, and be put upon other cars to go anywhere they wish. In addition to that, they were to pave and keep in repair the streets over which their lines run between the tracks and for two feet outside thereof in the same condition that the city kept the remainder of the street.

I believe that those were the essential features of the compromise. They were agreed to and made the decree of the Supreme Court of our state. And would you believe it, some of my over-zealous and enthusiastic friends, advocates and believers in municipal ownership, thought that I did wrong to make that settlement. I was criticised. Even my motives were assailed for having yielded too much to the corporation.

The result of that settlement is that they have expended more than two million and a half dollars in rehabilitating that system. They have given to the public a satisfactory service. The park system of our city has been inaugurated. We had none before. The income to the city from that source has been more than sufficient to maintain our park system, and buy additional parks. The securities of that company have more than doubled in value. The public is fairly well satisfied—well satisfied, I may say, with the service they are receiving. The company is making money. The public has the right at any time to resume control of that street car system after twenty years, provided the Legislature will give its consent for the city to own its street car system and issue the bonds necessary for that purpose.

Rehabilitation.

Those are in brief some of the questions with which as a practical and theoretical believer in municipal ownership I was confronted as Mayor of Nashville.

There was one other public service corporation, the telephone company, with which I had some contentions, and I came out second best all the way through. I was unable to do anything with the telephone company, notwithstanding the fact that they were charging what I considered unreasonable rates. I appealed to them. I plead with them. I even went so far as to try some litigation on them. But I failed. They are successful as a monopoly there to-day. No competition can come in. Various efforts have been made to bring in competing telephone companies. The Cumberland Telephone and Telegraph Co., absolutely controls the situation. And it is to-day the dominating influence in the politics of the State of Tennessee.

The Telephone Company.

I have already detained you longer than I should. And I hope you will pardon these frequent personal references. I only wanted to say in conclusion that the man who starts out to serve the public, to serve it honestly and faithfully, and give to it his best time and his best thought, has no bed of roses. He will find dissensions in the ranks of those who supported him. The reform movements have their serious difficulties, and so long as you have party organizations, I do not believe that you are going to make much headway in reform, except through party organizations. You have got to reform the party first, or get rid of the party altogether before independent organizations are going to make much headway. When you have an independent organization that does succeed, I ask you how you are going to continue to succeed, without building up around you a party organization. You may not want to call it a party organization, but you have got to have it if you get votes. You have got to have an organization that can exploit your ideas before the public. If you do not your followers will drift away from you, and back into the old party organizations from which they came. That is going to be the result unless you get rid of party organizations altogether by having the initiative and the referendum established, so that you go direct to the people.

One other thought and I am through. In our efforts at reform we are looking too much in the direction of the centralization of

power. We are looking to the Federal government for general laws to regulate evils that the state governments should control, and to the state government to regulate the evils of city government. Let us look the other way. Let us go back to the people. (Applause). Let us appeal to them, and instead of asking for reforms by consolidation and the centralization of power in the hands of a few, let us go back to the people as often as possible, and get our authority from them.

Municipal Ownership and Operation---The Value of Foreign Experience.

By L. S. ROWE, Ph. D.,
Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania.

One of the most puzzling features in the current discussions of municipal ownership and operation is the use that is being made of foreign experience. The advocates as well as the opponents of the system are constantly citing European conditions, and each side is able to array a group of facts to support its position.*

Arguments of Advocates.

The advocates of municipal ownership point with enthusiasm to the reduction in the burden of taxation, the lowering of charges to consumers, the greater economy of operation through lower interest rates, the improved condition of employees and the broader social policy directly traceable to the substitution of public for private ownership and operation. They emphasize the impossibility of securing from private companies the improvements that

*The morning this paper was begun I received two publications which illustrate the difficulties involved in the use of foreign material. A work entitled "Municipal Ownership in Great Britain," by Professor Hugo Richard Meyer (340 pages, Macmillan Company, 1906), is devoted to proving the thesis that municipal ownership and operation in Great Britain has been a failure from almost every point of view. On the other hand, a monographic study by Frederick C. Howe, entitled "Municipal Ownership in Great Britain"—which is the result of a special investigation conducted under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Labor—is replete with evidence pointing to exactly the opposite conclusion. This monograph is published in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for January, 1906.

were carried out, without hesitation, as soon as the cities took over these quasi-public services and they point with much satisfaction to the better co-ordination of municipal policy directly traceable to this extension of functions and the record of achievement in improving the social well-being of the population.

Opponents' Objections.

On the other hand, the opponents of municipal ownership point to the terrific burden of local indebtedness under which the cities which have adopted this policy are now staggering. They endeavor to prove that instead of relieving the burden of taxation, the actual effect has been to increase it; they maintain that owing to a faulty system of accounting the profits reported are fictitious rather than real, and finally they draw a lurid picture of the extravagant increase in municipal employees since the inauguration of this policy. No wonder that the average citizen turns wearily from this mass of conflicting testimony, convinced that no guidance can be secured from these real or supposed facts, and resolved to settle the question without reference to foreign conditions.

It seems unfortunate that the self-interest and prejudice which have obscured the real issues involved in this great question should prevent us from availing ourselves of the mass of valuable experience that both British and Continental cities have accumulated during the last twenty-five years. To make this experience valuable, however, it must be used with the greatest care and discrimination. The best introduction to a proper estimate of the value of foreign experience is an analysis of the causes that have led to the present movement for municipal ownership in European countries. It is both an interesting and significant fact that the same combination of causes is everywhere apparent. The movement for the municipal ownership of gas and electric lighting, but particularly of street railways, is directly traceable to the failure of private companies to furnish the kind of service which the inhabitants of the cities demanded and had the right to expect. Particularly in Germany, the history of the relation between municipalities and public service corporations is one long story of crimination and recrimination.

Failures of Private Companies.

The indictment against the public service corporations was none too strong and fully justified the step taken by the leading municipalities in these two countries. In order, however, properly to interpret the situation, we must know something of the conditions under which these private companies were operating. The original franchise grants were made for relatively short terms, ranging from twenty-five to forty years and were usually accompanied by the requirement for payment into the city treasury of from three to eight per cent. of the gross receipts. The relatively large financial return combined with the comparatively short franchise period discouraged the companies from taking any large risks, especially as regards extension of the service into new and relatively sparsely settled sections of the city. This natural conservatism has been interpreted as an indication of the inability of the companies to meet the requirements of the local service.

The faith in private ownership was further weakened by the reluctance of the companies to make the change from horse to electrical power. In both Great Britain and Germany, but particularly in Germany, the introduction of electrical traction came towards the close of existing franchise grants, and it is not surprising that the companies refused to make the large capital investment which the change required unless they were assured either of an extension of the franchise period or of adequate reimbursement for the capital outlay. It is, therefore, manifestly unfair to ascribe all the shortcomings of corporate service to defects inherent in corporate management. In fact, the most important are directly traceable to the stringent conditions under which franchises were held and the unwillingness of the municipalities to make further concessions to the companies. This experience contains a valuable lesson for American municipalities and furnishes an indirect and somewhat unexpected argument for the advocates of municipal ownership. The universal experience of European countries has been that as the terms of franchise grants are made shorter and the financial payments for such grants are made larger, the service performed by private corporations deteriorates, while the initiative and enterprise which lead them to experiment with new methods and

devices is stunted if not totally destroyed. The willingness of American corporations to take great risks and even to sacrifice considerable invested capital for the purpose of ultimate economy is due very largely to the fact that until recent years they have been permitted to plan for a service upon which no time limit was placed.

Change in Policy.

If the reform in the method of franchise grants becomes general, as it bids fair to do, we are likely to experience a marked change in the policy of the public service corporations. The plan of disposing of franchises for relatively short periods to the highest bidder assures to the city an adequate money return for the privilege granted, but tends to discourage the companies from incurring large risks in the extension of the service. It is not unlikely that municipal ownership will come all the more quickly because of the difficulties and antagonisms that are certain to grow out of this more careful safeguarding of public franchises. From these facts several lessons may be drawn:

First. In the adjustment of the relation between public service corporations and municpalities there is constant danger of over-emphasizing financial considerations to the detriment of the larger social ends which all these services must, or at least should perform. It is true that our American cities have received a totally inadequate money return for the valuable privileges which they have granted, but it is equally true that the inhabitants of our cities have profited to no small degree by the spirit of enterprise and the readiness to make sweeping improvements in equipment which have characterized the policy of the larger public service corporations in the United States.

Second. Inasmuch as most of our American cities are now committed to a policy of short term franchises, the experience of every European city teaches the necessity of inserting in the grant a reserve power on the part of the municipality to require the companies to make certain definite extensions of service each year, or at least to fix the minimum requirements.

Third. Even with all these precautions it is more than likely that American cities will repeat the experience of European communities in which the antagonism between the local authori-

ties and the public service corporations arising out of the interpretation of the reserved power of the municipality will develop to such a point as to make municipal ownership the only possible solution.

Effect on Local Finance.

Another series of lessons to be drawn from European experience relates more particularly to the effect of municipal ownership on local finance. Much has been said and written on this question and the testimony presented by the advocates and opponents of municipal ownership has been of the most conflicting character. The opponents of this policy have drawn a depressing picture of the extraordinary increase in the municipal indebtedness and the inordinate increase in taxation in those countries in which municipal ownership has been tried. We have here but another of the many instances which confirm the truth of the assertion that, while figures do not lie it is possible for those who use them to do so. As a matter of fact in all the European countries in which municipal ownership has received general recognition, but particularly in Germany and Great Britain, the increase in municipal indebtedness caused by the adoption of the policy of municipal ownership does not represent a real burden to the community, as both the interest and the sinking fund charges of this portion of the debt are defrayed, with very few exceptions, from the receipts of the various services. The increase in taxation is traceable to public improvements, such as betterment of school facilities, repaving of highways, improved organization of police service, etc., from which services no direct money return can be secured. The failure to distinguish between the two types of municipal services—the financially productive and the financially non-productive—has befogged the real issue and has in some cases prevented the consideration of the question of municipal ownership on its merits. The experience of the European countries points to the necessity of distinguishing between that portion of the city's indebtedness which represents investments in reproductive enterprises and that portion which is used for financially non-productive services. Our present constitutional limitations on local indebtedness, because of the

Two Types of Services.

failure to make this distinction, are hampering the normal growth of American municipalities. They served their purpose in checking that spirit of speculation and wildcat enterprise which, for a time, threatened the stability of our system of local finance. This danger is now happily past, but the perpetuation of the old restrictions hopelessly ties the hands of our municipalities and places them to a very large extent at the mercy of the public service corporations. It is not at all likely that we can secure the repeal of these constitutional limitations, but it is imperative, if this question of municipal ownership is to be dealt with on its merits, that a distinction be made between productive and non-productive enterprises and that the limitations on that portion of indebtedness incurred for reproductive enterprises be removed. This plan was proposed by the Committee on Municipal Program of the National Municipal League and the wisdom of this proposal is making itself more apparent each day.

The Most Serious American Objection.

The most serious objection advanced against the policy of municipal ownership and operation in the United States is the lack of an administrative organization and particularly of a civil service system adequate to bear the additional burden which such extension of function would involve. The picture of extravagance, corruption and misrule which is held up to us as the inevitable accompaniment of the extension of municipal powers, has done more than anything else to check the spread of sentiment in favor of municipal ownership. On this point the experience of the municipalities of Great Britain and Germany is particularly suggestive and valuable. The first thing that is impressed upon every student of foreign municipal institutions is the small number of elective administrative officers, as well as the relative permanence of tenure of the heads of executive departments. In the United States we have proceeded on the assumption that popular government means short terms of office and, to a certain extent, rotation in office. We are but beginning to appreciate the fact that there are certain portions of our political system in which the plan of popular election and short tenure defeats rather than promotes the real intent and purpose of popular government. Considerable sections of the country

have already become convinced of this fact so far as the election of judges is concerned, and in our largest cities the application of the elective principle to heads of administrative departments is being gradually restricted, although in no case have we as yet reached the point at which the management of a great city department is looked upon as a career to which a man may give the best years of his life with the assurance of permanent employment. Under our present system the term of office is so short that the head of a municipal enterprise hesitates to propose large plans of improvement because of the relative certainty that he will be unable to carry these plans to successful conclusion.

A New Concept.

The American people must, sooner or later, develop a new concept of popular government, in which the prominent factor will not be the election of officials but rather that control or organized public opinion over the administration of public affairs which is, after all, the essential element of a vigorous democracy. On this point, the lessons of foreign experience are clear and unmistakable. The administration of executive departments in the German and particularly in the English cities shows a sensitiveness to every stirring of public opinion, which is in marked contrast with the apparent indifference so often shown in similar departments in our American municipalities. The very fact that a head of a department is staking his career on the successful management of one branch of the public service is, in itself, sufficient to create in him a sensitiveness to every public demand. It is clear, therefore, that if our American municipalities are to extend their functions through the management of such quasi-public services as street railways, gas and electric light supply, etc., we must be prepared to accept an organization of executive departments under which such heads will hold office during good behavior.

It is also evident that if these services are to be efficiently performed, we must develop an organization of the civil service on a basis similar to that of European cities. That there is no insuperable obstacle to the attainment of this end is sufficiently attested by the rapid strides of the civil service reform movement in most of our large cities.

It is important in this connection, to examine the experience of foreign cities on one of the points most strenuously urged against municipal ownership and operation. We are told that this policy means a dangerous increase in the number of municipal employees. The danger that is pointed out is twofold. In the first place, the increase in employees introduces an element of political danger because of the activity of these officials in the civic life of the community. Although foreign cities have suffered to a very slight extent from this cause, it must be kept in mind that the immunity has been due largely to the fact that their civil service has been organized on a permanent basis and administered under the merit system.

Increase of Municipal Employees.

The opponents of municipal ownership also lay much emphasis on the fact that the extension of municipal functions will mean not only a corresponding increase in the number of offices, but that the extravagance which characterizes municipal operation will lead to the addition of a great number of unnecessary employees to the city's payroll. It is often charged that this has taken place in the English cities but all the available evidence shows conclusively that this charge is unfounded.

A third and equally serious question connected with the municipal employment of labor is the influence of organized labor in securing from municipalities better conditions than they can secure from private corporations and individuals. It is pointed out with a great degree of truth, that unskilled labor under municipal ownership enjoys a position of special privilege which is unfair to the great mass of the laboring population.

The experience of every European city shows that the change from private to public ownership and operation has always been accompanied by a betterment of labor conditions, and that this improved condition has set a standard to which other enterprises of a similar character have been gradually forced to conform. This sensitiveness to the demands of labor organizations may place municipal industries at a certain disadvantage when in competition with private companies, but the ultimate effect on the labor situation is salutary rather than otherwise. In but few instances have unreasonable demands been complied with,

and even where this has been done the situation has usually corrected itself by subsequent reduction in demands.

Uniform Accounting.

Another financial lesson of equal if not greater importance, and as to which foreign experience speaks with no uncertain voice, relates to the system of municipal accounting. In every British and Continental city each public work is regarded as a separate industrial enterprise, and the accounts are kept accordingly. In fact, if not in law, the accounts of the municipal undertaking are kept in exactly the same way as if the enterprise were under private management. Until all the charges for repairs, depreciation, interest and liquidation are met, there is no thought of profits. The result has been that the industrial enterprises in both German and English cities have been maintained at a high point of efficiency. The besetting danger of municipal operation in the United States has been the desire to reduce the tax rate through the profits of industrial enterprises. This temptation has been so great that in a number of instances the efficiency of the municipal plant has been destroyed by the desire to make a large part of this gross income available for general city purpose. The most notable instance was the Philadelphia gas works, whose decline was not due so much to technical mismanagement as to the refusal on the part of the city council to permit it to be managed on a business basis. Gross profits which should have been used for repairs and renewals were used for general city purposes and the council persistently refused to make the appropriations necessary to keeping the plant in good condition. Unless our American municipalities are prepared to make the system of accounting of their industrial enterprises as business-like as that of European cities, there is little or no hope that municipal ownership and operation can be successfully carried out.

Cost of Service.

A final financial lesson of a negative rather than of a positive character relates to the policy to be adopted in fixing the cost of service to the consumer. It has been pointed out time and again that the industries usually referred to as public service industries occupy an exceptional position because of the special franchises or privileges neces-

sary for their operation. While this is true, far more important fact is often lost sight of, namely, that these industries are capable of subserving certain broad social purposes and that it is within the power of the municipality so to adjust the cost of service that these large social ends will be attained. It is one of the commonplaces of social economy that the transportation services can be made the most effective means of relieving congestion of population, and that the gas supply can be made one of the most effective means of influencing the habits and customs of the people. In the transportation service, the plan adopted in most of the large European municipalities has been to adjust the fares under a zone tariff, thus increasing the cost of service with the increase in the length of ride. Although this has given satisfactory financial results, it has prevented the municipalities from performing their greatest service to the social well-being of the community, namely, to induce the population to move into outlying and less congested sections of the city. It is true that the uniform fare of our American cities is relatively high and is no doubt a considerable tax on the short distance passenger, but it is a tax which ultimately redounds to the social welfare of the community in contributing to a more equable distribution of population so necessary to the social advance of the community. In this matter of the adjustment of transportation rates for the attainment of social ends, German municipalities are considerably in advance of the English, but they have all much to learn from the conditions prevailing in our American cities.

As regards the gas supply, it is evident that a reduction in the price of gas, so as to permit the substitution of the gas stove for the coal stove, is certain to have a far-reaching influence on the diet of the poorer classes. In this respect the British municipalities have done splendid service. The readiness with which food is heated on the gas range as compared with the effort to start a coal fire makes it possible to introduce a far larger proportion of warm cooked food into the workingman's diet. But a beginning has been made in this respect, and it is sufficient to show the tremendous power of the city in furthering social welfare.

These are but a few of the many instances in which the muni-

cipality in the management of its public service industries is able to profoundly influence the industrial efficiency, the social welfare and the general well-being of the community. European municipalities have all begun to appreciate the power which they can wield in this way. Although the sum total of achievement at the present time is soemwhat meager, the general principle involved is one of the highest importance in the consideration of the problem of municipal ownership.

Municipal Control of Public Service Corporations.*

By HON. JAMES G. CUTLER,

Mayor of Rochester.

"Municipal ownership" is, just now, the specific proposed for the cure of all the ills which the municipal body politic suffers from public service corporations. These evils are real enough and they proceed mainly from over capitalization, insufficient taxation and the lack of proper municipal supervision and control.

In cities like Rochester, with a constitutional debt limitation to ten per centum of the assessed valuation, even if without present indebtedness, and Rochester has a debt now within one and a half millions of the limit, the public utilities could not be bought; confiscation is not yet openly suggested and we must look for something else.

The Only Available Remedy.

Indeed, as I see it, the only presently available remedy is not public ownership, which is impossible of immediate, or even early, realization, and the merits or demerits of which do not, therefore, press for discussion, but rather public supervision and control, which is shown by experience to be necessary and could be had at once.

* Since this article was written, the Legislature of 1906 amended Section 44 of the Tax Law, and provided that each city or town in which a special franchise was subject to assessment should be notified in writing that such an assessment had been made, and its valuation, and should also receive notice of any application to reduce the valuation so placed upon it by the State Board of Tax Commissioners.

Municipal administration tends to increase in cost for the simple reason that more and better things are constantly being provided by the cities for their people. Two things are, however, essential to satisfactory results: First, that the administration should be honest and efficient, and second, that the burden of taxation should be fairly distributed. If a public service corporation pays $40,000 a year, when it should pay $120,000, the small taxpayers must make up the $80,000, or do without something the city ought to undertake.

It is not the trouble that cities do too much, but that the rich public service corporations, under discussion, neither give the best possible service to the public, which has created them, nor pay what they fairly owe toward meeting the cost of municipal administration. These corporations, with the aid of skillful lawyers, and of subservient or careless legislators, have, in many cases, seized the cities by the throat, confiscated and capitalized the streets, and a radical section of the people, smarting under the obvious injustice and encouraged by theorists and demagogues, as well as by some sincere and public spirited men, demand a remedy, which, if attempted to be at once applied, would be worse than the disease.

Attitude of Corporations.

It happens that Rochester has pointed the way to permanent relief, and the only safe way, even for those who desire and expect ultimate municipal ownership. Let us consider what has been done in that city, the repetition of an old story perhaps, but only for the purpose of indicating the possibilities which actual experience suggests; the discussion, because the exigencies of the situation with regard to street railway, compelled its earlier consideration with us, is at present confined to the street railway company.

Beginning in 1862, the history of Rochester's street railway experience is a long series of public disappointments, bristling, in recent years, with stock jobbing by promoters, deterioration of rolling stock and a contempt for rights of the public, which had reached a point in January, 1904, no longer to be endured. The press without exception, and justly, denounced the service; the

Rochester's Railway Experience.

people, denied the comfortable and convenient transportation to obtain which they had granted franchises for little or nothing, to local capitalists and promoters, clamored for relief.

Charged at this time, as the city's chief executive, with the responsibility of searching for and enforcing such rights as might be found to remain to the people, I looked for means of compelling a substantial increase in the number of modern cars, proper warming of cars in cold weather, and generally of enforcing a reasonable compliance with the obligations which should have been fully expressed in the franchises, but which were generally conspicuous by absence from them.

The Police Power.

It appeared that the police powers, including the right and duty to protect the public health, must remain, and that, if asserted with vigor, the company could be forced, under these powers, to recognize the rights of the people, at least as to improvement in the rolling stock. Early in the year notice was therefore given to the company that if old summer cars, or cars not properly warmed, or dirty cars, were operated after the next cold season set in, the Health Bureau and the police would be directed to take such cars off the road. This notice was given so as to give the company time to buy new cars, and so that, if heeded, the public would not be compelled to do without regular service. Notice was also given that the operation of freight cars, during hours prohibited in the franchise, would be prevented by the police, if not at once stopped, for the franchise agreement in this respect was flagrantly violated and its validity questioned by the company.

The company denied the right of the city to "interference with its business," continued the operation of freight cars in the prohibited hours, and the police were promptly employed to prevent it by arresting the motormen and conductors, and leaving the freight cars on the track. As soon as the company realized that the city administration meant business the operation of freight cars between 6 a. m. and 8 p. m. was abandoned; has not been resumed, and, until a new franchise is granted, will not be allowed.

Penal ordinances were then prepared, and introduced in the

Common Council, to regulate the operation of the street railway and in every possible way the intention of the city to fight for its rights, and to exercise its police powers, was manifested. The effect of this assertion of police power was to secure radical improvements, fifty-six new cars, hot water heaters, and much more that lack of space forbids discussing. With regard to the Penal Ordinances, the company said with Crockett's coon, "You needn't shoot, we'll come down."

Penal Ordinances.

At the same time it was pointed out in the press, that while the stock and bonds of the company represented a valuation of $10,000,000, and were selling at more than par, the assessment of the special franchises by the state tax commissioners was upon a valuation of $2,390,840, and the company was fighting in the courts to reduce this valuation as excessive. I had expert examination made of the real property of the company, and it appeared that the value of the special franchise ought to be somewhere between six and seven millions.

The Assessment of Franchises.

An attempt was made by the administration to attack the assessment of the state tax commission, and to show its gross favoritism to the company, but so far the city has been unable to get a hearing in court on this point, and while we expect to succeed finally, it will have taken two years, and an amendment to the franchise tax law appears to be necessary if the cities of the state are to have, as they should have, an opportunity, before the assessment is settled, to demonstrate the real value of the franchises for purposes of taxation.

To this end a bill has been introduced by a local representative in the state legislature, providing that on making an assessment of a special franchise, the state board of tax commissioners shall give notice, not only to the corporation affected, but to each city, town or village in which such special franchise is subject to assessment, and further providing that every city, town or village, entitled to notice, shall have the right to be heard, and to file affidavits in respect to the valuation of such special franchises. Legislation, along the lines proposed, has received the somewhat unexpected endorsement of the state tax commis-

sioners in their last annual report. The recommendations, together with the active co-operation of the Mayors of many cities of the state, makes favorable action upon the proposed bill highly probable. Pending action by the courts and legislature, there has been no relaxation in the efforts to secure proper assessments of franchises each year.

Early in the present year, and in consequence of persistent effort in that direction, opportunity was given me to present to the State Tax Commission facts bearing upon the valuation of the special franchises of the city. Memoranda, regarding franchise values of four local public service corporations, was submitted to the commission, and a mass of figures and other data were given supporting the claim that the franchises were greatly undervalued. The attention of the commission was called to the fact that there has been for some years past a growing conviction on the part of the most substantial and best informed citizens that the franchise valuations of the public service corporations are very much under-assessed, and the dissatisfaction, founded on that conviction, is becoming more marked and more militant each year.

Special Franchise Valuations.

As a result of these representations, the special franchise valuations of the city were increased over two million five hundred thousand dollars, as compared with an increase of $778,000 dollars for the previous year, making a total increase of nearly three million five hundred thousand dollars since the beginning of the agitation, by the present administration, for proper taxation of the local public service corporations.

Examination of the history of street railway companies in the city, an incident, which involved the search of all proceedings of the common council from 1862, revealed the fact that there were more than fifty streets encumbered with unused franchises, and that in one franchise occurs this extraordinary language, after enumerating a number of streets by name, "and also such other streets, avenues, and places of said city of Rochester, in or through which the said company may extend its line, or construct a branch or branches thereof, or which may be described in any certificate or certificates therefor under chapter 252 of the laws of the state of New York."

These unused franchises have been useful to keep out competition, and proceedings are under way in the courts to recover to the people an unclouded title in and to those streets.

The efforts of the administration have not, however, been limited to securing proper control and taxation of existing franchises. Applications have been made by the railway company for certain franchise extensions to enable the company to make connections with interurban lines. Pending negotiations with the company, action upon these applications is now being withheld, and the franchises will not be granted without providing for some compensation to the city, nor without clear and definite restrictions as to the operation of interurban cars in the streets of the city.

But what has been done in Rochester, with a stiff fight, and what can yet be done in this way, in the face of franchise contracts, like jugs, with the handle only on one side, appears to suggest the possibility of action in this state, which would vastly improve the position of the cities with regard to public service corporations, by affording a more peaceful method of control.

This, I think, should comprise, first, legislation which will provide for a fair assessment of franchises, by definitely affirming the right of a city or incorporated village to appear by counsel and be heard on appeal from tax commissioner's appraisal.

Second, the appointment by the Mayor of a commissioner of public utilities, charged with the supervision and control of the service, rendered by the local public service corporations, to whom complaints would be made, and from whom redress could be had. He should have power to investigate and to enforce his decisions, and should also have power to examine persons under oath, and to direct the production of papers and accounts.

Effective Remedies.

It might be worth considering also, whether a municipality, proposing to take over the franchises of a public service corporation, should have the right to set up the franchise tax valuation as a basis for estimating the compensation to be paid.

Where a franchise valuation has been fixed for the year by the tax commissioners after a hearing, the issue of additional stock should be made a misdemeanor, and any municipal pub-

lic service corporation, desiring to increase its capital stock, should be required to present to the state tax commissioners a petition for an increase of its assessed valuation, which should bear a relation to the proposed increase of stock, specified in the law.

The same procedure should be necessary when two public service corporations are to be merged, or a holding company is proposed to take over such corporations.

It may be argued that such legislation cannot be had, that corporations know how to protect themselves. Very well then, if the fraudulent accumulation of wealth, by favoritism in law-making, and in law enforcement, is to go on; if government of the people, by the public service corporations, and for the directors and their friends, is to prevail, the end is in sight.

The people see the injustice of letting a small clique come into a city like Rochester, and "promote" the streets so that by evading taxation and responsibility for good service, they can sell out in a few years and walk off with a profit of five million dollars, as the Rochester syndicate is said to have done. Something serious will be done about it before long. The question is, what?

Shall it be on the line of firm, but temperate, just and rational control, the use of the police powers to bring the service to the highest point of efficiency, at the least cost to the people, and the enforcement of laws designed to compel the payment of a just share of taxation, or shall we procrastinate and temporize, until, sweeping away the constitutional limitation upon municipal indebtedness led by the demagogue and charlatan, we enter upon an era of socialistic experiment culminating in political and financial chaos?

Until we learn to use the powers we have with firmness and discretion, it is simply reckless to enter upon the wide and unknown field. Municipal control may pave the way to municipal ownership or it may not, but it is necessary, it is easily possible, and it is the belief of the writer that it should be undertaken without delay.

The National Civic Federation Investigation.

By EDWARD A. MOFFETT, New York,

Secretary, Commission on Public Ownership and Operation of the National Civic Federation.

The Commission on Public Ownership and Operation, of the National Civic Federation, is grateful for this opportunity to state its purposes before so representative a body of thoughtful men as The National Municipal League. The invitation, so kindly tendered, to address a gathering of citizens deeply interested in questions of municipal betterment, we are pleased to regard as indicating an interest in our work, in a most desirable quarter. Obviously, the Commission's representative is not here to present either side of the question of public ownership. His purpose is simply to indicate so far as he is able, the character of the body he represents, and to sketch to you the work it has undertaken to do.

The Commission found its birth in the rising prominence of the question of municipal ownership. To put it more precisely, the desire expressed alike by advocates and opponents of municipal ownership, to obtain authoritative data upon the subject and to have disclosed the actual results of public ownership and operation in home and foreign cities—this desire was responsible for the undertaking of the investigation.

The Creation of the Commission.

With your permission I shall now outline briefly the creation of the Commission. Its membership was originally selected in the month of August of last year by the Executive Council of The National Civic Federation, upon request of its Department of Industrial Economics and of Trade Agreements. This Commission—comprised of a hundred or more of the most prom-

inent men in the country drawn from the ranks of distinguished economists, business men and labor leaders and representing all shades of opinion—held its first meeting in New York last October. (The personnel of this body can be gleaned from the small pamphlet that has been issued; I have a few copies with me). An Executive Committee was appointed, also a Committee on Investigation; the latter committee was empowered to visit in this country and Great Britain those cities "as may be selected as fairly presenting the measure of financial and operative success or failure obtained by municipally owned and operated plants, and to study the conditions and results to the municipality, the consumer and the citizen generally;" also to visit "with the same end in view, such privately owned gas, electric, street railway and water supply plants as may be selected and open to its inspection."

Committee on Scope.

Schedules relating to the four subjects: Gas, Water, Electric Lighting and Power, and Street Railways—were then drawn up by a sub-committee consisting of:

Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, Columbia University.

Edward W. Bemis, Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland, O.

Walton Clark, Third Vice-President United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia.

J. W. Sullivan, Editor "United Garment Workers' Bulletin" New York.

Milo R. Maltbie, former Editor "Municipal Affairs," New York.

Of this committee two were considered to be in favor of public ownership, two opposed and one neutral. As the duties of this sub-committee involved not only the preparation of the all-important schedules upon which the investigation is to be based, but also the general plan of procedure, the advisability of such representation is apparent.

Engineers and Accountants.

The next step was the engaging of engineers and accountants. In the selection of these experts the choice in each case was unanimous. Their names and particular lines are:

Gas: Alfred E. Forstall, New York; J. R. Klumpp, Germantown, Pa.; Fred C. Burnett, Toronto, Canada.

Electric: C. E. Phelps, Jr., Baltimore, Md.; Theo. Stebbins, Columbus, O.; Alton D. Adams, Worcester, Mass.; Charles F. Pritchard, Lynn, Mass.

Street Railways: Norman McD. Crawford, Hartford, Conn.

Water: Dabney E. Maury, Peoria, Ill.

Accountants: Marwick, Mitchell & Co., New York; Robert C. James, Wallingford, Pa.

An analysis of the schedules to be filled in by the experts show the four subjects to fall under several general heads, as follows:

(a) Historical and General.
(b) Supervision of Municipalities.
(c) Public Supervision of Private Companies.
(d) Franchises of Private Companies.
(e) Organization.
(f) Political Conditions.
(g) Labor.
(h) Character of Service and Plant.
(i) Financial Matters.
(j) Capital Stock and Bonds.
(k) Assets.
(l) Liabilities.
(m) Receipts.
(n) Expenses.
(o) Profit and loss.

In the order of these divisions I shall now proceed—selecting the street railway schedule as typical—to show the broad and scientific lines upon which the investigation is being conducted, how painstaking is the search for the facts, quoting the more important questions as they occur.

Historical and General

Under this head questions are asked intended to trace the history of the particular plant, the dates of adopting special features, and other matters that may assist in reviewing its development; to ascertain the general sentiment in relation to the present system of ownership and operation, and the attitude of the press, the current objections, if any, to the present service, the degree of

interest taken by the citizens in the management, and whether or not private companies have consolidated, with dates and methods required.

This separation of the subject deals with the power of municipalities to construct their own street railways without purchasing existing private systems; also whether or not they may condemn private systems under the right of eminent domain. The power of the particular city in the matter of raising funds for any such undertaking is required into. In this connection questions are asked as to the limitation upon the city's taxing power for municipal street railways; upon its general taxing power; upon its power to incur debt for municipal street railways, and upon the general power of the city to incur debt.

Supervision of Municipalities.

This line of the inquiry opens with questions designed to bring out the features of the incorporation of the particular company, with special reference to powers and limitations. As in the case of municipal systems, statutory provisions are examined in detail.

Public Supervision of Private Companies.

The next questions show concretely the searching nature of the investigation in a most important phase:

"What powers of supervision over the construction and operation of the plants of private companies does the city possess?

"What provision has the city made for the exercise of its powers of supervision?

"How frequently and with what efficiency does the city exercise its powers of supervision?

"What provisions have been found impossible of enforcement and why?"

Information concerning taxes paid to State and to local authorities is the object of a considerable number of questions; these conclude with:

"Is the company subject to assessment for local improvements?"

"Are such assessments actually levied?"

The power of the municipality to grant franchises is here inquired into in detail. Then follow questions to define the legal

provisions delimiting the powers of the city as to the insertion of clauses in franchise regarding forfeiture of franchise; time, method and acquisition of system by city; disposition of plant thus acquired; fares to be charged and transfers to be given; character and quality of service; right of city to regulate operation; taxation; compensation for franchises; paving of streets; issuance of stocks and bonds; returns to public authorities; transfer of franchise to third parties.

Franchises of Private Companies.

Each franchise is examined in detail, and a full and clear statement of conditions upon which forfeiture may be declared and its possible acquisition by the city, is particularly required. Has the municipality experienced difficulty in forcing companies to live up to the terms of their franchise? is the next inquiry; and this embraces examination into the reasons for the difficulty in case it exists.

The questions that follow trace existing private companies to their very inception and relate to a most important phase of the investigation. They are:

"How much deliberation has usually been given in the granting or renewal of franchises?

"Has the exercises of the franchise granting power been attended with public scandal and if so, in what respects?

"How much publicity has usually accompanied the granting or renewal of franchises?

"By whom are franchise grants usually drafted?"

The principal questions under this division are intended to bring out how and upon whom the responsibility is placed for the proper maintenance of particular municipal systems; whether or not the authority is divided; how the persons in position of control are selected and to what extent, if any, political considerations enter into their appointment, and whether or not members of the governing body have technical knowledge. These questions are also designed to determine whether the head of the engineering service is an engineer by profession, and if so, what scope he is allowed in the exercise of his duties, to what extent these duties are executive; and whether or not political considerations affect his appointment or his tenure of office.

Organization.

It is particularly asked whether or not the office he fills changes with each change of the city administration.

The remaining questions under this head are framed to ascertain to what extent politics may affect the number of employes at any given period; and whether politics influence the selection or dismissal of wage earners.

Political Conditions.

In the questions set down under this head the main object is to ascertain in what measure employes have sought to organize, openly or secretly, their political strength for the purpose of influencing the conditions of their employment, or of exercising similar influence upon city elections; also whether candidates for office have made promises of better wages, etc.

To what extent employes are active in party work is also inquired into; and whether or not they are expected or required to pay political assessments. The question is also asked as to what evidence there is "of the influence of private companies upon the nomination and election of members of the franchise-granting and franchise-controlling authorities."

Labor.

Under this head the opening inquiries seek to ascertain what, if any, significant relations exist between increases of the working force and elections; the wages, maximum and minimum, paid each class of labor; the legal and actual number of hours per diem, etc.

The succeeding questions relate to the contentedness of the employes and the answers are to indicate in what manner and to what extent the employes have a part in determining the conditions of employment.

The questions that comprise this portion of the schedules refer first to those parts of the particular system, municipal or private, that generate and transmit power. The initial inquiries are necessarily of a most technical nature; they seek to ascertain the general capacity and comparative economy of the plant.

Character of Service and Plant.

Then follow questions designed to ascertain the number of lines of the different companies, their types, special features and the dates of installation; the number of cars in active service and their character, whether open or vestibuled, etc.

Under the sub-division of "Traffic," which is the next phase considered, come inquiries showing the comparison, if there be such, between the legal maximum speed and the actual; headway schedules; the number of transfer points, and whether waiting rooms are provided at such places.

Then follow:

"Were passengers kept waiting at points of stopping because cars were run too infrequently?

"Were passengers often obliged to stand in cars?

"Were the cars crowded?

"Were extra cars run during rush hours?

"Were the facilities ample to meet the demands of the public at all times?

"What types of cars were used?

"Were the cars kept clean and well painted? Well lighted and well ventilated? Well heated in cold weather?

"Was service supplied 24 hours in the day?

"If for part only, how many hours each day?

"Were there frequent complaints about the interruption of service?

"Has the street railway service ever been completely or partially cut off. Describe instances."

The purchase of supplies by municipally owned lines is next inquired into. The opening questions here relate to the responsibility for the placing of orders, and for the checking of materials purchased. Among the principal questions are the following:

"Were contracts advertised?

"How did prices compare with those paid by private companies?

"Were the dealers supplying materials connected with the city, county or state government?

"In practice, did the manager get the types and makes of things he asked for, or was he forced to take something else?

As a general summing up of the questions this far propounded there appears under the sub-head, "General Matters," a number of inquiries of such manifest importance that I shall quote a few of them also. They are:

"Is the system adequately equipped to handle the business?

"Is the equipment of modern and efficient type?

"Is it in good condition?

"Were passenger's complaints promptly and efficiently attended to?

"Is the general morale and discipline of the employes good, bad or indifferent?

"Do the various departments work in harmony? Is there friction or jealousy, and does one Department shirk work leaving it to be done by another?

The inquiry into all of the four subjects—Gas, Electric Lighting and Power, Water and Street Railways—under investigation, ends with a critical examination of matters falling under this head.

Financial Matters.

Capital stock and bonds, assets, liabilities, receipts, expenses, and profit and loss—each of these elements is made the subject of exhaustive inquiry.

Among the detailed questions in this category are those relating to the proper charging, in the case of municipally owned systems, of each item of expense to the proper account, with particular regard to services rendered by officers of the city government; the keeping of the accounts of the particular plant independent from all others and from the general accounts of the city; the rate of interest paid by the city as compared with the rate paid by private public service companies; the cancelling of liabilities, and payment of interest on bonds.

It is also asked whether or not the plant was run at a loss, and if so, how the deficit was met.

The manner of auditing is likewise a subject of inquiry and also a minute examination is to be made of how each issue of stock was dsposed of. The schedules end with a résumé intended to show the balance to profit and loss.

The following cities have been visited by the Committee of Investigation: Chicago, Pittsburgh, Alleghany, Atlanta, Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, South Norwalk and Wheeling.

A number of American cities are also to be visited when the Committee has concluded its labors abroad. These cities are:

Toledo, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Norfolk, New Haven, Detroit, Cleveland, Syracuse and a number of Massachusetts cities.

It is likely that a number of cities will be visited a second time.

Among the foreign cities included in the plan of investigation are: Glasgow, Birmingham, Leicester, Manchester, Sheffield, London, Liverpool, Newcastle and Dublin.

The preliminary work abroad has been under way for some time; in addition to the experts, the following members of the Commission have begun work there:

Melville E. Ingalls, Chairman of the Commission; Milo R. Maltbie, J. W. Sullivan, Timothy Healy, and Albert E. Winchester. The work of the Commission as initiated by these gentlemen has evoked considerable interest in the British municipalities. The press has very generously devoted space to it and has predicted that the results of the investigation will go far in the direction of supplying information of hardly less value to their own municipalities than to those of America.

The Committee of Investigation sails for England May 22d, and expects to remain at least two months.

The Commission on Public Ownership and Operation, I desire to say by way of conclusion, was not formed to advance any theories or to express opinions either for or against municipal ownership and operation, or in relation to ownership as against operation. It was formed to ascertain the facts and present them in comprehensive and utilizable form—only this and nothing more.

The Committee.

You will doubtless feel interested to know, if you do not already know, the kind of men to whom has been entrusted the practical work of investigation. The following gentlemen comprise the committee having charge of the work:

Melville E. Ingalls, Big Four Railroad, Cincinnati, O.

Talcott Williams, Editorial Writer, "The Press," Philadelphia.

W. D. Mahon, President Association Street Railway Employes of America, Detroit.

Frank J. Goodnow, Columbia University, New York.

Walton Clark, Third Vice-President, United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia.

Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor "Review of Reviews," New York.

Edward W. Bemis, Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland, O.

John H. Gray, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Walter L. Fisher, Secretary Municipal Voters' League, Chicago.

Timothy Healy, President International Brotherhood Sta. Firemen, New York.

William J. Clark, Foreign Manager General Electric Company, New York.

H. B. F. MacFarland, President Board of Commissioners, D. C.

Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit.

Frank Parsons, President National Public Ownership League, Boston.

John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

J. W. Sullivan, Editor "Clothing Trades' Bulletin," New York.

Leo S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood Electric Workers, Washington.

Albert E. Winchester, General Superintendent South Norwalk Electric Works.

Charles L. Edgar, President Edison Electric and Illumination Comany, Boston.

Milo R. Maltbie, former Editor "Municipal Affairs," New York.

The National Civic Federation feels that in entrusting this important investigation to a commission of such high-class personnel it has given the best possible evidence of its desire to submit to the American people a fund of much-needed information gathered without partiality or desire to serve any interest but the interest of truth.

Corrupt Practices and Electoral Methods.

By HORACE E. DEMING, Esq., New York City,
Chairman, Executive Committee, National Municipal League.

Our Electoral Methods Foster Corruption.

With the body politic as with the physical body correct habits are a far more important factor in producing and conserving a sound and healthy condition than any amount of medicine. Our electoral methods, therefore, to be wholesome should be primarily designed rather to prevent corrupt practices than to punish them. Not but that the *certainty* of punishment may deter from the commission of crime but the wiser plan is to establish methods that diminish the opportunity for its commission.

Ours is an intensely commercial and industrial civilization, and government, local, state and national, touches so closely and affects so seriously so many important business interests that persistent efforts by such interests to influence governmental action must always be reckoned with.

The animating motive of these efforts is pecuniary gain; and centuries of experience have demonstrated that, where opportunity is given, there is no depth of moral turpitude to which this motive will not degrade human conduct.

Our political methods, and especially our electoral methods, afford precisely this opportunity.

Whoever would be a successful candidate for election or re-election to public office must, so long as present electoral methods obtain, do the bidding of some political autocrat or oligarchy. And this is equally true of all appointive offices, outside of the very limited field within which the Merit Principle is really enforced.

The autocrat or group of oligarchs who thus dominate the holders of public office can sell governmental action, and do sell it.

In city after city, in state after state, in the national capital itself, we find this base and degrading commerce between the political boss who sells and the business-man who buys governmental action.

An immense tide of moral indignation is rising throughout the country. The people are recognizing that the boss who sells and the financier who buys governmental favor are equally public enemies, are especially detestable in character, and that their unholy alliance of loot cannot be destroyed by appeals to the moral instincts of either.

We cannot change the commercial and industrial character of our age nor the fact that the selfish pecuniary interests of a large number of individuals and corporations are directly affected by governmental action. So long as governmental action is for sale there will be no lack of purchasers.

This sordid traffic will continue so long as the despotic control of the boss continues over the men who seek or hold public office. Personal registration, a secret ballot, an honest canvass of the ballots, are necessary steps toward the overthrow of this control, but they are not enough. We shall never be rid of boss-government until we shall have utterly destroyed the opportunity for any political autocrat to obtain the monopoly of naming the successful candidates for public office. Our present nominating methods, whether so intended or not, give precisely this opportunity. So long as they exist the boss will flourish. If new ones, however fair-seeming, take their place, and yet this citadel of his power remains, the boss will flourish. You cannot destroy the boss so long as he can traffic in governmental action. This traffic rests upon his control of the holders of public office, and this, in turn, upon his domination of the methods of nomination to public office. Destroy this domination and you destroy bossism, not merely a particular boss, a Cox or Durham or Murphy, not the boss as an individual—the boss as an individual is a mere incident—but the boss as an institution.

Destroy the political methods and machinery that center in one

man, or an oligarchy, the control of nominations to public office and the boss will pass into the realm of American political mythology.

New Jersey as an Example.

The direct tendency of our present electoral methods to breed the boss, the financial stake of individual and corporate interests affected by the conduct of public office, the sordid alliance of greed between bossism and lawless wealth, the almost insuperable difficulties which our present electoral methods place in the way of putting a representative of the people in public office, the ultimate but by no means impregnable citadel of the boss' power, the way to capture that citadel and dethrone the boss, the genuine soundness of the electorate as a whole and its eagerness to have as its representative in public office a man who will conduct the office according to a policy in which the electorate believes are well illustrated by the recent campaign for nomination and election to the office of state senator from Essex County in New Jersey.

New Jersey Ballot Law.

The New Jersey Ballot Law, as in most states, and in all boss-governed ones, makes it relatively easy to vote for the candidates of a regular political organization and relatively difficult to vote for independent candidates for political office. In New Jersey each recognized political party organization has its own separate official ballot upon which is printed its "ticket" i. e. a list of its official candidates for all the offices to be filled at the election. A recognized political organization is one whose candidates at the last preceding election polled at least five per centum of the votes cast. Any group of non-organization men, if sufficiently numerous, can nominate by petition and also have an official ballot containing the names of its nominees. The voter can use but *one* official ballot, however, and, if he does not like the candidates upon it or it does not contain candidates for all the offices, he must make such changes as he desires by writing or pasting them upon the ballot. Naturally there is not a superabundance of independent candidates in New Jersey elections.

Under the New Jersey law, primaries can be held only by

recognized political organizations, membership in which is confined to those voters who are willing to swear that at the last election they voted for the majority of the candidates of the organization and that they intend to support its candidates at the approaching election. Such a person may at a given date in September attend before the election officials, be registered as a member of his organization, receive its printed primary ballot, then retire to a booth and privately indicate upon the ballot his preference. This ballot contains the names of the candidates for committees of the organization, for delegates to conventions which are to nominate the organization's candidates for public office, and the names of candidates for the organization's nominations to certain local public offices. The voter must erase the names of all candidates for whom he does not wish to vote. In the city the political unit of representation is the ward, in the country it is the town. The organization is entitled to one delegate in a delegate convention for each two hundred votes cast within the ward (or town) for the governor wearing the political label of the organization at the last preceding gubernatorial election and one delegate for each fraction thereof over one hundred. The number of voters participating in the primary, in no way affects the number of delegates to which the organization is entitled in the convention. That is determined by the number of votes at the preceding general election, not by the number of voters participating in the primary.

New Jersey Primary Laws.

I have before me a specimen of the ballots used at an election district in Newark at the primary election in September, 1905. To the county convention which was to nominate a state senator and a county sheriff, thirty-one delegates were to be elected; to the city convention which was to nominate two members of the Board of Street and Water Commissioners, thirty-one delegates were to be elected; one alderman, one school commissioner, one constable, and four Justices of the Peace were to be nominated by direct vote at the primary. There were also to be elected at the primary twelve members of the County Committee of the organization—one from each of twelve election districts

The Complex and Confusing Primary Ballot.

of the ward. The ballot is two feet eight inches long. There are one hundred and sixty-four names of candidates upon it and the titles of eleven public and twelve private offices, or counting, as we should, the position of delegate as a private (organization) office, there are seventy-four private offices.

Of the eleven public offices nine—those of Sheriff, the two Street and Water Commissioners, the School Commissioner, the four Justices of the Peace and the Constable—involve no question of political policy about which men can rightly hold different opinions. Rightly regarded these are wholly non-political offices and should be appointive. Making them elective confuses the voter as to the real political issues, gives abundant opportunity for and, indeed, necessitates "slates" and combinations, cumbers the electoral machinery, adds to the expense and increases the complexity of campaigns, and at this particular primary required the printing of seventy-four names to be passed upon by every voter.

There were also on the ballot the names of twenty-four candidates for twelve county committeemen's places. Committeemen are officers of the organization and their election is a purely private organization affair. Combining the choice of officers of the organization with the nomination of public officers and with the choice of delegates who are to nominate public officers is another illustration of the confuson and complexity of our electoral methods. Let a political organization elect as many officers as it chooses, and as it finds adapted to its needs, but to be required at one and the same time to weigh intelligently the various reasons which may be urged to determine his choice between various applicants for official positions within the organization, to give due consideration to the claims of various candidates for nomination to public offices some of them political and some wholly non-political, and in addition to select among competitors the delegates who are later to decide who shall be nominated to both political and non-political public office is an ideal situation to produce a feeling of utter helplessness in the voter enmeshed and confused in the mazes of such a labyrinth.

It is a sufficient condemnation of such electoral methods that

they justify the feeling of helplessness and hopelessness on the part of the individual voter and practically compel him to exercise his franchise under expert professional guidance.

The first simplification of this ballot would be to strike off the twelve purely private organization offices of county committeeman; this would remove twenty-four names. The next simplification would be to strike off all the non-political and therefore not properly elective offices; this would remove seventy-four names more. The next simplification would be to strike off the names of all delegates for the senatorial convention thereby making it possible for the voter to vote directly for his choice among the candidates for nomination as senator. This would remove sixty-two names more. We should then have a ballot containing the titles of but two offices, those of alderman and senator, and the names of just two candidates for the nomination to each office. What a disentangling of the hopelessly involved would be accomplished by such a transformation, how relatively easy for the voter to exercise his franchise, how slight his need would be for expert advice or guidance; and if the purpose had really been to enable him to exercise an intelligent and discriminating choice and to make his choice effectual,—which would have been the official ballot at this primary? The one actually used, two feet and eight inches long containing the titles of twenty-three offices, political and non-political, private and public, some of them purely administrative, others involving policies having nothing in common or actually conflicting, and containing also the names of one hundred and sixty-four different persons? or a single straightforward ballot upon which would appear only the office of state senator with the names of the two competitors for the nomination and the office of alderman with the names of the two competitors for nomination to that office? A ballot on which appear two offices and four candidates or one with twenty-three offices and one hundred and sixty-four candidates and delegates, which is the better suited to a freeman's use? In the intricacies and intentional absurdities of the one he is hopelessly entangled and confused; to understand the plain straightforward meaning of the other he needs no expert guidance.

The Simplification Needed.

But this is not yet the whole story. The presence upon the ballot of all these names of candidates and delegates is the result of the previous expenditure of an enormous amount of time, labor and expense. This necessitates a thoroughly equipped and highly elaborated political machine, which, being human, must be fed and trained and kept in perfect discipline. Essex County has such a machine with its tenders and helpers and managers, local henchmen, district leaders, chairmen and sub-chairmen and executive committees and over all the county chairman or "boss" with his trained staff. The details are unnecessary here. In its essential characteristics and in the completeness of its thoroughly worked out system it has its counterpart in a thousand counties. From a long time before the primary till the close of the general election, and during all the periods between general elections, this thoroughly organized and well disciplined human machine is always in action and must be fed and paid. It is a permanent machine and never idle; for while the people are busy and absorbed about their own affairs the politicians are no less busy about their own affairs. Each is occupied in strengthening, increasing and enlarging his own business. The intricacies of politics do not disturb or annoy the professional. They give him his daily bread. The watchful care of the innumerable details incident to the preparation for and management of primaries, campaigns and elections, the pains-taking supervision of the conduct of public officers, are the politician's chosen occupation, his means of livelihood—and may lead to a competence. It is idle to blame or berate him. It is futile to call him unpleasant names. He is quite as much the result as he is the cause of our present electoral system. So long as the system endures he will be in evidence. And he will fight to maintain the system, for it maintains him; just as any of us will struggle to the bitter end to maintain the business by which he earns his living or is gaining a competence. Do not waste breath in reviling the "professional politician;" attack the system. It is well entrenched now and cannot be destroyed in one campaign or at one election, but keep constantly weakening it and he will become of constantly

The Ballot's Complexity Necessitates the Machine.

diminishing importance. The need of an elaborate machine in political management is a delusion and the supposed necessity of organizing and equipping an elaborate permanent political machine in order to fight the machines already organized is a worse delusion. It will but breed another boss.

The Essex County Senatorship.

The total vote of Essex County at a general election is approximately 80,000, its population something over 400,000. Newark, the leading city of the State in industry, wealth and population is, in Essex County and there are many lesser cities and towns within its borders as well as a very large number of important businesses whose pecuniary interests may be directly affected by the action of town and city officers and of the state legislature which can restrict or enlarge the activities of these officers. The senator from Essex has, therefore, a most important and responsible position though the salary attached to it is only $500 a year.

Importance of Republican Nomination.

Whoever aspires to be senator from Essex must secure the Republican nomination, for the County is safely Republican. This means that he must gain the support of the majority of the delegates that constitute the Republican county convention, which under the New Jersey law has the nomination for senator within its gift. These delegates are chosen at the September primaries I have already described as held in each election district of the county and which can be participated in only by those who are willing to swear that they voted for the Republican candidates the year before and intend to do so again at the approaching election.

It is all in the day's work and a part of the usual functions of the well equipped and officered Essex County machine to select the necessary number of men residing in the different parts of the county who will go as delegates to this convention and, taking their orders from the machine, bestow the senatorial nomination upon the choice of the machine's managers, either announced in advance, or, at the last minute, when a little slip of paper is handed to the eloquent orator at the climax of the peroration of his nominating speech. But to establish before

the primary with enough men residing in different parts of the county to constitute, if elected, a clear majority of the convention, such relations that they will consent to enter the contest for election as delegates and agree beforehand to vote for him as their candidate for senator is an enormous and almost impossible task for an ordinary citizen. Yet this is precisely what was attempted and successfully accomplished in the summer and autumn of 1905.

Difficulties In the Way.

Before describing how this was done let me put before you, even at the risk of some repetition, some of the difficulties in his way. He had to get the Republican nomination, and this meant several things, among others, these:

He was obliged to persuade regular Republicans—i. e., men who had voted and were willing to swear that they had voted the Republican ticket the year before and would vote the regular Republican ticket at the election this year—to attend the primaries held in the two hundred and fourteen polling places scattered through the county and to vote in sufficient numbers for delegates pledged to support him in the nominating convention to elect a majority of the convention. This nominating convention consisted of four hundred and seventy-nine delegates. He had to persuade, therefore, at least two hundred and forty regular Republicans residing in every part of the county to agree to support him in the nominating convention and to engage in a personal campaign among their fellow Republicans for their own election as delegates.

He had to see to it that all legal formalities were complied with in each election district, that the names of delegates pledged to him in the different localities were placed upon the official primary ballot appropriate to the particular election district and that the voters at two hundred and fourteen polling places were instructed in advance how to use a cumbrous and confusing primary ballot such as I have described.

Only those who have taken active part in the details of a political campaign can have even an approximate idea of the expenditure of time, energy and money needed to accomplish these results without the skilled and experienced service of a

regular political organization. And in this particular campaign the candidate for senator was opposed by all the skill and experience of the Essex County Republican Machine with practically unlimited funds at its disposal. This opposition, sometimes open, sometimes insidious, but never ceasing for an instant, was encountered at every step and in countless ways. He was seeking only the nomination for senator; if he gained the nomination and was elected, he would after all be but one member of one of the two houses of the state legislature. Why, then, this relentless opposition by the machine, its managers and backers? How could the candidacy of a man for nomination to an office with a salary of $500 a year be so threatening or in fact dangerous at all to the interests of the machine? In the answers to these questions will be found some hint of the reason for the continuance of a cumbrous and confusing electoral system not alone in Essex County but in many other places and of the sinister forces that preserve and maintain such a system for their own corrupt purposes.

Importance of the Senatorship.

In New Jersey, as in other states, the action of the legislature mightily concerns great corporate businesses and great individual interests in them. The legislature can grant them many privileges, can take away power or give additional power, can investigate them, can tax them. The corporation is the creature of the legislature and is in law subject to its will, but what if the legislators are made creatures of the corporations? Then, though in theory of law the supremacy of the legislature continues, in actual practice the legislature is subject to the corporate will. What an almost exhaustless store of wealth would then be at the disposal of the corporate manager. How vastly tempting to able financiers the opportunity to acquire boundless riches under the protection of laws they make themselves. Ours is a law abiding people. It is our boast that this is a country of laws not men, and respect for law because it is law is taught us from our earliest years. Here then is the road plainly marked out for shrewd law-abiding avarice,—"make laws that sanction the gratification of greed." This is no new phenomenon. Kings have clipped coin and made their worthless paper promises

legal tender. Unprincipled rulers and short-sighted ones have often abused their powers for their private advantage. But how in a country which selects its rulers by general elections, which guards its electorate by registration laws and places in each elector's hand on election day a secret ballot, how in such a country is it possible for any general abuse of power by such elected rulers? and how shall such a reversal be brought about that the legislature,—the creator of corporations—may become itself their creature, and the corporations become the creator of the legislature?

To the observant student of our political methods the answers to these questions are not difficult. The avenue to public place is through subserviency to the machine, for the machine holds in its grasp the monopoly of successful candidacy for office. The machine is costly and in constant need of money; the private interests that desire governmental favor supply the money,—finance the machine. The office-holder whose official life depends upon the favor of the machine—he owed to it his nomination and must look to it for his renomination—obeys the machine. The machine obeys the financier. This is the process and the perfectly natural process through which the apparently astounding reversal is brought about that our legislatures, though in great part unwittingly, become the instruments of private moneyed interests and enact the legislation which those interests ask and defeat the legislation which those interests oppose. This is why the candidacy for the Republican nomination for State Senator from Essex County was of grave concern to the machine and its financial overlords. This is why the candidate for that nomination encountered such relentless opposition and was forced to devote months of his personal time and expend thousands upon thousands of dollars and needed the untiring aid of hundreds of devoted helpers. This is why his campaign for the nomination to a $500 a year office—a seat in one branch of the legislature of one of the forty-five states—was a matter of grave national concern. It was a fight to overthrow the legal monopoly possessed by political organizations of deciding who shall and who

Business Interests and Political Corruption.

Why Essex County Contest of National Import.

shall not fill elective office,—a monopoly claimed and often exercised before it was established by law and now under our primary and election laws become an established legal monopoly, inevitably delivering the powers of the government into the selfish control of mercenary private interests.

The Fight for Nomination.

I have suggested some of the difficulties to be overcome by any aspirant for the Republican nomination for Senator from Essex County who was not in the favor of the Essex machine. I shall now endeavor to show how not only in spite of the machine but against its ceaseless and relentless opposition the nomination was won and in such a fashion and by such methods that the sinister financial backers of the machine could find no useful opportunity for expending the huge corruption fund they kept subject to its draft.

A committee of the National Municipal League after investigating the nominating methods to elective office in many of our states recommended among other things, the following:

Prior to registration day, let every candidate for nomination to an office be announced as such candidate together with a statement of a platform of political principles appropriate to the office and which he pledges himself to apply in the conduct of the office if elected, each distinct set of principles being denoted by a short title or phrase; let the names of all candidates for the nomination be printed upon an official nominating ballot by the state; upon a registration day and immediately after registering let the registration officer deliver this ballot to the voter; let the voter mark secretly upon it as to each office his preference among all the candidates for nomination to it and deposit the ballot in the ballot box under exactly the same circumstances as at the general election; let the ballots be canvassed and the result announced as at the general election.*

* This assumes that there are already upon the statute book:—

A personal registration law requiring upon one of certain appointed days the personal registration of an elector to entitle him to vote at a general election;

A ballot law requiring the use at elections of an official ballot, provided

The candidate for the Republican nomination for Senator from Essex had probably never heard of this committee or of its recommendations and the primary law and official primary ballot were in marked contrast to the simple straightforward law and ballot recommended by the National Municipal League Committee and New Jersey falls far short of providing an adequate system of personal registration. Perhaps for these very reasons his demonstration of the soundness and effectiveness of the central features of the committee's recommendations is all the more convincing. Given a registration day and an official primary ballot, said the committee, let the aspirant for the nomination to an elective public office be announced as such candidate together with his declaration of the policy he considers appropriate to the office and which he will endeavor to carry out, if subsequently elected to the office; let him denote his policy by a short descriptive phrase and then let the state print his name as a candidate for the nomination upon the official ballot together with this short phrase so that every voter may know for what principles he stands. And, said the committee, let any other aspirant for nomination to the same office who declares the same policy have his name printed with the same descriptive phrase, so that among competitors professing the same political principles the one having the greatest popular support may win the nomination as the representative of those principles.

Under the New Jersey conditions which have already been described the man who would be a successful candidate for the position of senator from Essex must first secure the Republican nomination, for the county is strongly Republican. Further, the law required that the county convention which by a majority vote selected the Republican nominee must

at public expense, delivered to the elector within the polling-place by public officials, and preserving the absolute secrecy of the elector's vote;

An election law insuring the prompt and honest canvass of the ballots cast, and the prompt and honest proclamation of the result of the canvass, by public officials; and

That there are already duly provided by law registration officers, poll clerks, ballot clerks, and inspectors of election, or similar election officers, to perform the duties their several titles imply.

consist of four hundred and seventy-nine delegates, every one a Republican, who had been elected at Republican primaries in which only Republicans could take part. And the law carefully defined a Republican to be a man who would swear that he had voted for the majority of all Republican candidates at the last preceding election and would do the same at the approaching election. In short the contest for the nomination was necessarily a contest within the Republican organization. And I have already pointed out that the managers and financial backers of the organization were absolutely hostile to the candidate of whom I am speaking. How was it possible for him to be otherwise than beaten from the start?

Independent Candidate's Chance.

There was just one clause in the law that gave him his chance. This permitted to be printed upon the official primary ballot opposite the name of a candidate for the position of delegate the name of the man he would support for senator in the convention and if there were several delegates who would support the same man the law provided that their names might be printed in a group with his name opposite the group.

How It Was Availed Of.

This candidate publicly announced the platform of principles upon which he would seek the nomination, selected principles peculiarly appropriate to the office of senator, pledged himself to labor for their enactment by the legislature, and determined to make *his own name* the short phrase denoting the platform upon which he stood. Then he began a tireless campaign throughout the county proclaiming his platform to the voters at countless meetings large and small, stirring up discussions in the press and in conversations till there was not a voter in Essex County that did not know that this candidates name stood for four definite articles of political faith and that if the Republican voters in their primary would elect delegates labelled "Everett Colby" the people on election day would choose a state senator that would labor to have them enacted into law.

These four principles were:

1. Limited Franchises (i. e. all franchises to be for a limited term);

2. Taxation of Franchises (i. e. taxation of the privilege of using the franchises);

3. Equal Taxation (e. g. tax the road bed of a railway corporation and all its tangible property on the same basis as the property of any citizen is taxed);

4. Popular selection of United States Senators (i. e. provision on election day for an expression of the popular choice for senators with the object of making the members of the legislature senatorial electors as regardful of the popular will in the choice of senator as are presidential electors in the choice of President.

Note in the first place that the adoption and promulgation of these principles as his personal platform in advance of any action by a recognized political organization and without waiting for its suggestion or approval were a complete reversal of the time-honored and traditional methods which required that the organization should announce the platform and then select the candidate. Note, in the second place, that Mr. Colby's course in coming forward as a candidate for the nomination to one particular office without any bargain or trade with candidates for the nominations to other offices, with no arrangement whatever between his supporters and the supporters of the candidates for sheriff, school commissioner, Justices of the Peace, water commissioners, constable and so on, was a direct repudiation of the "slate" or "combination" plan hallowed by organization traditions and cherished by practical politicians. Note, in the third place, that not one of these principles was a "Republican" principle, that not one of them had been in the Republican platform of any previous year, that belief in them was no test of Republicanism and that the Essex County Republican organization and its financial backers were openly hostile to them.

Could there be a more complete disregard and defiance of the Organization? If this startling innovator should succeed it would not only shock the faith of the voters in its invincibility, but it would arouse most disturbing doubts as to the necessity for such an elaborate and costly institution and suggest the wisdom of substituting simpler and more straightforward methods. No wonder the machine and its financial backers fought him. He was

attacking the very center of their power, which may be tersely stated as their monopoly control of successful candidacy for public office, a control from which machines and their financial backers can never be divested so long as either law or custom preserves nominating methods that grant to a political organization exclusive title to the political principles it avows and permits no person to be a candidate for public office as the representative of these principles unless he is nominated by the organization avowing them.

To break this monopoly-clutch of the organization Mr. Colby

Pursued Municipal League Methods.

1. Announced a platform of political principles appropriate to the office of senator, for the legislature could enact these principles into law;

2. Sought support from the electorate on his pledge that, if elected to the legislature, he would labor to get them enacted into law;

3. Told the voters that at the primary on registration day they would find his name on the ballot opposite the names of the candidates for the county convention who were pledged to his platform and would vote for him in the convention.

This was pursuing the exact method recommended by the committee of the National Municipal League.

Reverting now for a moment to the cumbrous and confusing primary ballot I have already described, you will observe that this platform of principles was not appropriate to the duties of any of the other offices, whose titles appear upon it, —sheriff, delegate to city convention, county committeeman, etc. No common political appellation could be devised appropriate to the duties of these offices. The only common political kinship of the candidates for them was their organization origin. Each could be labelled "Republican" as an item on the organization slate. The name "Colby," however, opposite the name of a candidate or group of candidates for election to a county convention denoted a distinct political policy and whether the elector knew the candidate or not he could vote for him sure that he was casting a vote for the principles Colby represented and was instructing the delegates to vote for Colby in the convention as the elector's choice for senator. This wonderfully simplified

the ballot and by unremitting efforts enough Colby men willing to become candidates for the county convention were secured by primary day in each ward and town to constitute its full quota of delegates.

The Effect of those Methods.

The application of the methods I have described showed the essential weakness of the machine in the presence of live political issues and of a virile representative of sound political principles of present importance. At the outset the machine had good reasons to think itself invincible. The perfection of its organization whose ramifications extended into every election district, the discipline and experience and skill of its numerous corps of trained workers and its huge letter of credit upon its financial backers seemed certain to add another victory to the many it had already won. It was animated too by a spirit of grim determination, for the defeat of this daring intruder would put a quietus for years upon any attempt to rebel against the established political order. As the contest grew more and more fierce, the machine found itself in a woeful predicament. Vigor and vigilance it could meet and overcome with its own vigor and vigilance. Intrigue it could match with intrigue, money it could over-match with more money, but Colby represented *ideas*, living political present-day issues in which the voters were deeply interested and he was showing them how they could make their views effective by voting at the primary for delegates wearing the Colby label. The voters woke up to the fact that he had made this part of the cumbrous and puzzling ballot simple and easily intelligible, and that no expert guidance was needed in order to use it, that through his efforts the primary could be made a direct primary so far as the Colby nomination was concerned. What was the machine to do? It could fight and fight successfully men and methods, but it was not equipped to combat *ideas* or to support strong independent thinking men. If to defeat Colby it put up a strong man and named delegates pledged to support him in the convention, the strong man might not prove sufficiently subservient. If the machine put up a weak and subservient man how could be maintain himself against such a campaign as Colby was waging? Besides, if the machine adopted

and sincerely supported the same principles that Colby had adopted and proclaimed, it would lose its financial backing and if it should adopt the Colby platform, what explanation could it give if it did not also support Colby?

The Machine's Defeat.

Truly the machine was in a dilemma. It could not even use its letter of credit, for the opinion of the electorate was so generally in favor of the Colby platform that it was futile to attempt to defeat him by vote buying.

At the close of the polls on primary-day three-fourths of the delegates to the county convention were found to be Colby men and his subsequent nomination by the convention was a purely formal matter.

The Fight after the Primary.

But the machine was not yet at the end of its resources. At least three-fourths of the Republicans who attended the primary had supported Colby delegates for the county convention, but one familiar with the mischievous effects of our confused and complex electoral methods is not at all surprised that a majority of the county committee elected at the same time were men subservient to the "machine." There are two hundred and fourteen election districts in the county and one resident of each district is elected to the county committee in which is centered the control and management of all organization matters. You will recall that among the one hundred and sixty-four names on the primary ballot I have described were those of twenty-four candidates for the county committee, two from each of the twelve election districts of the ward. In this ward, therefore, as in every ward and town in that county, among other matters needing attention before the primary was the selection of candidates for nomination to the organization office of county committeeman; and among the numerous offices, political and non-political, public and private, whose duties and among the scores of competing aspirants whose claims the voter was called upon to consider at the primary, he was asked to make a discriminating choice between the qualifications for county committeeman of various men in each

election district of his ward. It was to be expected, therefore, that the county committee would, in the main, be made up of men subservient to the machine and that when Mr. Colby had won the Republican nomination for senator he would find, in the campaign for election to the office, all the machinery and equipment of the Republican organization in hostile hands.

The Same Hostile Forces.

The same forces confronted each other in the campaign for election as in the prior campaign for the nomination, —the typical political machine and the virile representative of living present-day political issues. And Mr. Colby demonstrated a second time the inefficiency and the needlessness of an elaborate permanent organization for the conduct of a campaign of ideas. Again, also, he saved to the machine's financial backers any political investment of their funds. In the campaign for the nomination when Mr. Colby could appeal only to confirmed Republican partisans, the political financier found he had no remunerative outlet for his special talents; in Mr. Colby's campaign for election when he was appealing to the entire electorate of the county, the machine's letter of unlimited credit was still more futile. Mr. Colby's majority at the polls upon Election Day was overwhelming.

The Machine Again Defeated.

The Lessons of the Colby Campaign.

For those who would improve our electoral methods, Mr. Colby's campaign for nomination and election as senator from Essex County is full of significance and fruitful of suggestions.

The Colby campaign demonstrated that an elaborate and costly scheme of permanent political organization is needless if the purpose be to secure the nomination and election to public office of representatives of the opinions of the electorate on living political issues; that complicated and cumbrous electoral methods hinder the nomination and election of such representatives and are at once the main reason for the power of the "machine" and the excuse for its existence.

The Colby campaign made it extremely clear that corrupt practices are directly encouraged by our electoral methods. Consider how large must be the expenditure of money to meet

the requirements of the Essex County plan of nominating and the still greater expense involved in maintaining the Essex County Republican organization. The combined salaries of every elected public officer in and from the county would scarcely equal an insignificant fraction of this cost, and yet the huge outlay goes on year after year. Not the least valuable lesson of the Colby campaign was in showing how this sinister condition could be remedied.

Mixed, confusing, complicated and difficult as were the established nominating methods in Essex County, the primary was held on a registration day and each voter immediately after registering could vote an official primary ballot furnished by the state and this ballot was cast and counted precisely as at the general election; further, Colby was enabled by extraordinary effort to have his name printed upon the ballot as the representative of a definite platform of principles appropriate to the office of senator. Once this was accomplished, a hitherto invincible machine could not defeat him. On the contrary, without any elaborate organization to support him, he defeated the machine. He not only defeated the machine, but he made any corrupt use of money to purchase the machine's nomination for senator so evidently futile that there was no corruption fund.

He demonstrated that one simple amendment to the New Jersey primary law would go far not only to overthrow machine domination, but to prevent the corrupt use of money at primaries and elections. The most expensive and difficult parts of the Colby campaign were in securing men to run for nomination as delegates to the county convention and in explaining and overcoming the technicalities of the complex and confusing primary ballot. All of this difficulty and expense would have been obviated had the primary law provided that any qualified voter might file in a designated public office a reasonable time before the primary, a document announcing over his signature the platform of principles which he pledged himself to apply in the conduct of the office for which he sought the nomination together with the signatures of a small number of qualified voters to a request that he become a candidate upon that platform; and that the state would then print upon the primary ballot his name

as such candidate with a short descriptive title or phrase to designate his platform.

The primary ballot, even after this amendment, would be unnecessarily cumbrous and confusing. It would still contain the titles of many non-political public offices and the names of aspirants for nomination to them; but the requirement that every competitor for a nomination must announce in advance the platform of principles he would apply to its conduct, if elected, would bring into clear view the absurdity and incongruity of keeping an office elective which is purely ministerial and administrative and would hasten the day when all offices will be made appointive as to whose proper conduct there is no division of political opinion.

Such an amendment would also bring home to every voter the wrong and injustice of continuing a system which permits at a primary held to select candidates for public office the choice of a hostile committee to manage the campaign for their election. The filling of the purely private organization office of committeeman would be provided for at some other time and in some other way; and his functions would not be permitted to include opposition to the expressed will of the voters to whom he owed his election.

The experience of Mr. Colby clearly indicates that the simplification of our electoral methods should proceed along these lines, that the difficulties he had to meet and the expense he had to incur were due to the complexities and confusion that this simplification would remove, that the complexities of the present system serve only sinister purposes, and that without the provision in the New Jersey Primary Law which enabled him to use his name as a symbol for definite political principles appropriate to the office he sought and thus loosened the monopoly clutch of the machine on nominations to public office, the electorate would have been, as usual, the helpless victims of the involved and cumbrous system which kept them in political slavery.

The Municipal League's Method Proved Sound and Effective.

To the members of the National Municipal League the most impressive and instructive lesson of the Colby campaign is its demonstration of the essential soundness and practicability of the recommendations of the League's Committee on Nomination Reform.

Primary Legislation and Party Organization in Wisconsin.

By CLARENCE B. LESTER,

Post-Graduate Department of the University of Wisconsin.

I. Historical.
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I.

What is perhaps the most comprehensive and inclusive law or direct popular nominations now in force in the United States as had its first real test in the municipal elections of Wisconsin his spring, and it is now time to review the results to discover herein it has worked well and how it may be strengthened.

Much that was claimed for it before the primaries has been fully borne out in the actual trials in March, and some points of weakness have been made evident. It will be the purpose of this paper to present the facts upon both sides as fully and impartially as possible, that the experience of Wisconsin may be of real help to other states.

Ten Years' Struggle.

Before undertaking the consideration of the law itself, it seems best to give some brief history of the bitter ten years' struggle for the direct primary in this state. It is but one phase of the fight which has been waged during that time, under the leadership of Governor (now Senator) Robert M. La Follette, for the control of the government of the state by the people of the state. Probably this story is too well known to all who keep in touch with public affairs to need more than the briefest outline here, but its importance for us lies in the fact that any proper understanding of the law itself and any useful interpretation of the local comment upon its working, necessitate a constant recognition of this background of heated party strife. In the struggle of Half-breed against Stalwart other party lines have been wiped out in state affairs, and the real point at issue has been too often obscured or entirely forgotten. The fact that one party supported this law was in itself sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of the other, and the newspaper comment particularly must be considered in the light of a knowledge of the paper's political leanings.

Every legislative session during the decade following 1890 witnessed the passage of caucus acts, but the earlier laws were made to apply only to the city of Milwaukee, and all were based upon attempts to regulate the party caucuses and conventions, leaving their control still in the hands of the parties. The real movement for direct nominations may be said to have taken its rise in 1896. The Republican state convention met that year with a sufficient number of delegates pledged from their caucuses, it is said, to have given Mr. La Follette the nomination for governor. But strong influences were at work, and when the decisive vote was taken it was found that a sufficient number of delegates had swung over to carry the nomination to his rival. The trouble was not in the preliminary caucuses which

had selected the delegates, but in the convention itself which had failed to register the choice of the caucus voters. The recognition of this bar to certain popular control because of the unreliability of delegates was the beginning of a concerted movement for direct nominations. To quote Mr. La Follette's own words: "The fight is on. It will continue to victory. There will be no halt and no compromise."

La Follette's Fight and Program.

When the session of 1897 opened the Lewis bill was introduced providing for direct nominations at one primary at the same time and place for all parties in each district. Candidates were to get their names upon the primary ballots by nomination papers. A peculiar feature of this bill—and undoubtedly a weak one, though having some support in political necessity—was the provision requiring all nominations for the year, for the local spring as well as for the general fall elections, to be made at the one primary in September. This bill was defeated, but another caucus act, the Mills law, went upon the statute books, somewhat extending the previous regulation of the party caucus.

In a speech at the University of Chicago on Washington's Birthday Mr. La Follette outlined a most "comprehensive program" for primary reform. The principle was making headway, but it was no mushroom growth; it was slow but strong. When the 1898 convention met Mr. La Follette was again before it as a candidate for governor with a platform plank demanding primary reform. Again the machine was too strong, and the only tangible progress seemed to consist in a beautifully vague plank in the platform, though the Democratic platform of that year came out very definitely for the principle of direct nominations.

With the session of 1899 came the Bryant bill which remedied many of the defects in the Lewis bill but did not yet provide for a secret ballot. Once more the effort at legislative action met defeat, and once more came the inevitable caucus act. It should be noted however that this act recognized the principle of direct vote for aldermen, supervisors, and justices of the peace in cities (that is, for ward officers), as well as in nominations for town, village, and school district officers. The system, though

left under the control of the parties, was yet closely regulated by law, and still applies to all such officers as are excepted from the new law. Thus there was ready a broad foundation of direct nomination principles for the later primary law to act upon, and the latter, from the view-point of municipal affairs, may well be considered as an evolution rather than an innovation. It adds to the list of ward officers already nominated by direct vote, all such general city officers as are chosen by direct election of the people. As nearly two-thirds of the cities of the state are still operating under special charters, the lists of elective officers vary in different localities, some who are elected in one city being chosen by the council in another and perhaps appointed by the mayor in yet a third. But this caucus act, while it carried regulation still farther than before, yet provided only for separate party caucuses conducted and controlled by the parties, and thus left untouched the core of the whole matter.

La Follette's Election.

Meanwhile, however, the practical politician in the reformer had not been idle, and the convention of 1900 saw the triumphant nomination of Mr. La Follette for governor upon a platform containing a plant demanding definite reforms in the nominating system. In the fall came a still more triumphant election by an overwhelming vote, and the new governor went into office with the support of a Republican legislature. But it must be remembered that not all Wisconsin Republicans were supporters of Governor La Follette and that those who were not with him were against him. Then the legislative action of the 1901 session may be partly understood. In answer to the party pledge in the platform the Stevens bill was introduced, the main features of which as it came from committee were practically those of the present law. The struggle which followed was most bitter and brought out clearly the real party lines. But the machine had not yet forgotten how to work, and the Senate finally killed the bill after every effort at compromise had been exhausted. In its place was passed a flimsy substitute, applying only to counties and requiring a declaration of party affiliation and the payment of a fee by candidates. In a "ringing message" the governor vetoed this bill as worse than useless, a waste of money, and a base fraud upon the party's pledge.

And so the fight must still go on, but there was "no halt." In 1902 the people unmistakably declared in favor of principle and against the machine. Governor La Follette was sent back to the capitol with a legislature to support him, and the session of 1903 at last saw victory in the passage of the present law. The opposition was still strong enough, however, to force the inclusion of a referendum clause submitting the law to the people, but the vote upon it in 1904 left no doubt of their approval. A number of minor amendments were adopted in the regular and special sessions of 1905 but none to cause any radical change. The special session did bring forward an attempt to include a provision for majority nominations through the Australian system of counting both first and second choices marked upon the ballot, but this was defeated after a hard fight. This had been directed to remedy the dangers felt to exist in a choice by plurality, but the actual test this spring has not made those dangers at all prominent in practice.

The Law of 1903.

Thus the law which we are considering is the culmination of a decade of struggle, one phase in a series of legislative reforms such as no other state has witnessed. Against the determined opposition of a well-organized machine, it has been carried upon the statute books through the efforts of a reform party just as well organized, in response to an ever-increasing popular demand. And it must be considered, in its provisions and in its criticism, in its place among the majority acts which have followed the development of a new and sharply-defined line of cleavage between the Wisconsin parties on state questions.

II.

As has been already brought out, this law had its inception in state rather than municipal needs. Many of its provisions are worded as from the view-point of the September primaries for the general election and are then made applicable to local primaries by supplementary provisions. The synopsis of the law which I shall give will be from the view-point of the municipal primaries,

Synopsis of the Law.

however, it being remembered that some provisions relating to the general elections may be omitted.

This law is made to apply to all candidates for elective offices, except in the case of special elections to fill vacancies and in nominations to the office of state superintendent, county and district superintendent of schools, town, village, and school district officers, and all judicial officers, excepting police justices and justice of the peace in cities. These exceptions, which are intended to include those offices which should be essntially non-partisan, leave the nominations for such offices to be made either by nomination papers or under the former laws through a caucus and convention system. All other candidates for elective offices must be nominated in one of two ways, either by a primary held in accordance with the act, or by nomination papers signed and filed in accordance with existing statutes. The latter method was used this spring in a number of cities where party lines are not drawn in municipal affairs and is of importance in connection with our later consideration of non-partisan nominations. Such papers must be signed, "if for an officer to be elected by a county, district, or other division less than the state [thus including general city officers], by a number of voters thereof not less than one-half of one per cent. of the whole number of votes cast therein at the last general election preceding such nomination and at least fifteen voters; if for a ward office in a ward polling less than one hundred and fifty votes, by at least ten electors of such ward; and if for a ward office in a ward polling more than that number of votes by at least twenty electors thereof." There are added the usual provisions as to the form of nomination papers, the affidavit of a sponsor for the signers (a provision, by the way, which New York has lately shown may be grossly neglected,) and the restriction of signers to a single candidate for the same office. Such papers must be filed with the city clerk not more than fifteen nor less than four days before the election. The primary law also requires party candidates for the office of United States Senator to be nominated in the manner provided for state officers, and this seems to present some most interesting possibilities which, however, it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss.

Municipal Primaries.

The primaries for municipal elections must be held two weeks before the election, and not more than twenty nor less than ten days before the primary the city clerk shall cause the publication of a notice designating the offices for which candidates are to be nominated, and such notices must also be posted in three public places in each election precinct.

The names of candidates are placed upon the primary ballot through the medium of nomination papers, the form for which is fully prescribed in the law. Each sheet containing signatures to be counted must bear at the top a designation of the candidate as representing the principles of some party. The signer declares that he is a qualified elector and a member of that party, and that he intends to support the candidate named. He must add his street and number, and can sign but one paper for an office, and all signers on the same paper must reside in one precinct. There must be added the affidavit of a qualified elector (not the candidate) as sponsor for the signers, and also a declaration by the candidate that he will qualify if nominated and elected. Such papers must be signed "if for an office representing less than a congressional district in area [hence for cities and wards] by at least three per cent of the party vote in at least one-sixth of the election precincts of such district and in the aggregate not less than three per cent nor more than ten per cent of the total vote of the party in such district." The basis of percentage is the vote of the party for the presidential elector having the largest vote at the last preceding election for president. "But any political organization which at the last preceding general election was represented on the official ballot by either regular party candidates or by individual nominees only, may, upon complying with the provisions of this act, have a separate primary election ticket as a political party, if any of its candidates or individual nominees received one per cent of the total vote cast at the last preceding general election in the state, or subdivision thereof, in which the candidate seeks the nomination." This provision not only implies a definition of a political party for the purposes of the act, but also opens a way for new parties to obtain recognition as such, and for any party

which may have, for a time, failed to nominate candidates to again obtain such recognition. "Nomination papers may also be filed for non-partisan candidates; such papers shall contain at least two per cent and not more than ten per cent of the total vote cast in the state, or subdivision thereof, in which the person is a candidate."

Nomination Papers.

All such nomination papers must be filed in the office of the city clerk at least fifteen days before the primary, and when papers shall have been received containing ten per cent of the total vote, the clerk shall not receive nor file further papers for that candidate. The purpose of this restriction, which was enacted at the special session of 1905, is to guard against the rather improbable contingency that one candidate might so fill his paper with names as to monopolize the party supporters (who may sign but one paper for an office) and thus effectually cut out any opposing candidates.

A list of all candidates for whom papers have been thus filed, together with a designation of the office and the party, must be posted by the clerk at least ten days before the primary, and also, if possible, published in at least two and not more than four newspapers of general circulation in the city, one representing the party which polled the largest vote and another the party which polled the next largest vote at the last preceding general election.

Strangely enough the law makes no definite provision for the printing and distribution of ballots for municipal primaries, but "so far as applicable and not otherwise provided herein, the provisions of this act shall apply to all city primaries." The county is the unit of ballot distribution for the September primary, but under this implied application the city clerk, of course, has charge of their preparation in the cities. Sample ballots evidently cannot be printed more than fifteen days before the primary (the limit for the filing of papers) and must be upon tinted or colored paper. The ticket is submitted to the city chairman of each party, a copy mailed to each candidate, and a copy posted in the office of the city clerk. At least four days before the primary the official ballot must be printed, and then distributed as required by the regular election laws, the number

of ballots furnished to each precinct being twice the number of votes cast therein at the last general election.

When the primary day comes all the regular election machinery is called into use under the general election laws of the state subject to the special provisions of the law. For each election district in a city the mayor chooses from lists submitted to him by the city committees of the two leading parties and nominates to the council in February of each year in which general elections are held, three inspectors, two clerks of elections, and two ballot clerks, divided between the two parties. These lists must have been made up from names submitted to the city committee by the ward chairmen. The officers thus chosen must be electors of the respective districts and after confirmation by the council shall act at all primaries and elections held in their districts. The parties may provide challengers at the polls as under existing laws.

The Primary Ballot.

The ballot is a unique attempt to preserve the secrecy of voting and yet maintain party alignment without a declaration of party affiliation publicly at the polls. It is made up of a number of sheets, one for each party and one for non-partisan candidates, all fastened together and folded. Upon each party's ticket are arranged alphabetically under the titles of the offices the names of the candidates for whom papers have been filed bearing that party's designation, and the non-partisan ticket is similarly made up. This bundle of tickets the voter takes into the booth, detaches and marks the one he wishes to vote, and after re-folding deposits the one in the voting ballot-box and the others in a separate blank ballot-box. The latter are to be destroyed by the inspectors, without examination, immediately after the canvass. Ballots are to be marked in the usual manner by crosses after each name voted, but there is the following noteworthy provision: "If any elector write upon his ticket the name of any person who is a candidate for the same office upon some other ticket than that upon which his name is so written, this ballot shall be counted for such person only as a candidate of the party upon whose ticket his name is written and shall in no case be counted for such person as a candidate upon any other ticket. In case the

person is nominated upon more than one ticket he shall forthwith file with the proper officer . . . a written declaration indicating the party designation under which his name is to be printed upon the official ballot." This provision, together with the system of individual party tickets, prevents the voting of a split ticket, or the endorsement by one party of the candidate of another. Such endorsement might be indirectly effected by leaving entirely blank the nomination for the office, in which case, in the absence of judicial interpretation, the Attorney General advises that the party is really issuing no call for a primary for that particular office and hence could present no nomination for it even though names might be written upon some ballots for nominees for that office. On the other hand, in some cases this spring candidates have been so nominated and even later elected, and it may be doubted whether the courts would then nullify upon a technicality such a definite expression of popular choice.

The Canvass of Votes.

The canvass of votes, unless otherwise provided in the act, shall be in accordance with the laws for elections. The city board of canvassers consists of the city clerk and the chairmen of the city party committees of the various recognized parties in the city, any two constituting a quorum. Returns must be made within twenty-four hours to the city clerk and a copy as to each political party sent to the city chairman of that party. The determination is by plurality, the candidate receiving the largest number of votes to be the party candidate upon the official ballot. This has been made a point of attack by advocates of the convention system, and, as has already been stated, bills were before the 1905 special session to introduce here the Australian preferential vote with its designation of second choices to be counted for a majority. On the other hand, a direct popular choice by plurality certainly is preferable to any majority convention, and until the people are ready for a majority-choice system there is always the strong safeguard of the regular election. In case of a tie-vote the tie shall be forthwith determined by lot by the canvassers, and any vacancies occurring after the holding of the primary shall be filled by the city committee. This latter provision would probably be interpreted to leave with the commit-

tee the power to fill a vacancy caused by the retirement of a candidate nominated upon two tickets.

Party Organization.

The primary also covers the choice of party committees. At the September primary each voter may write upon his ballot in a space provided the names of not more than three qualified electors of his precinct for members of his party precinct committee. These votes are canvassed with the rest and the three having the highest number shall constitute the precinct committee with the one having the largest vote as chairman. This committee is the unit for the formation of all the others excepting the state central committee. At a meeting of the various precinct committees in each ward held two days after the primary upon an official call of the county chairman published ten days before, one of the precinct chairmen is chosen as ward chairman, and these ward chairmen together with township and village chairmen similarly chosen make up the county committee. The assembly district committee consists of the various precinct chairmen, the state senatorial district committee of the assembly district chairmen, and the congressional committee of the party chairmen of the senatorial districts. These officers are chosen in turn by ballot at successive meetings held five days apart at the call of the county chairman. All these committees are to have the usual powers, and there are detailed provisions basing the voting power of each ward or precinct chairman upon the voting strength shown in his district at the last general election. The present committees hold over until the first choice under the new law next fall.

Platforms.

No provision is made in the law for a city platform, but the state platform is to be formulated and the state central committee chosen at a meeting of the candidates for state offices, for senate and assembly, and the hold-over senators, held three weeks after the September primary. But any need for a platform in city elections is, in practice, fully met by very definite declarations by the candidates, before the primary, of their stand in regard to the special questions or principles upon which the city election is to be decided. In Madison, for instance, the contest was waged upon the ques-

tion of enforcement of the liquor laws and the positions of the various mayorality candidates were all publicly expressed before the primaries both through the press and in campaign advertising.

All the ballots and other supplies and all expenses incurred in the primary election must be paid for out of the city treasury as in the regular elections, and the registration requirements for elections are made applicable to the primaries, the primary election day being designated as a registration day. Various special penal provisions are outlined, and it is expressly stipulated that "the provisions of the statutes now in force in relation to the holding of elections, the solicitation of voters at the polls, the challenging of voters, the manner of conducting elections, of counting the ballots and making return thereof, and all other kindred subjects, shall apply to all primaries in so far as they are consistent with this act, the intent of this act being to place the primary under the regulations and protection of the laws now in force as to elections." And finally to yet more definitely and carefully ensure popular control, it is enacted that "this statute shall be liberally construed, so that the real will of the electors may not be defeated by any informality or failure to comply with all provisions of law in respect to either the giving of any notices or the conducting of the primary or certifying the result thereof." Just what this "liberal construction" might be, however, and how far it might go, just what constitutes a determination of the "real will of the electors," might become a subject for judicial decision in very many conceivable situations, and such a provision in law, if it have any effect at all, may be a source of weakness rather than of strength in the opportunity it offers for controversy.

III.

The Breaking of the Machine.

We have thus seen how the present Wisconsin primary law was placed upon the statute books as a part of a political upheaval which divided the state into two camps. The fight was avowedly against a control of the state in the interests of corporate wealth. Under the caucus and convention system the machine, backed by the railroad and lumber interests and with the control

of the federal patronage had perfected an organization that seemed almost invincible. But its power has been broken (whether permanently or not yet remains to be seen) by a leader who not only talked of what ought to be done but galvinized his followers into doing it. The result is a powerful popular support backing up the perfecting of organization in their own interests, opposed to the once all-powerful machine organization already perfected in support of the special interests. We have also considered an outline of this law, noting its inclusiveness, its emphatic stand upon principle, and its general character as a primary nomination by the people as organized in parties.

But perhaps the most important question after all is the acutal working of these provisions of law. Upon this must be based attempts at adaptation to conditions elsewhere. For much of the statistical matter presented in this consideration I am indebted to the Legislative Reference Department at the state capitol where Dr. McCarthy kindly placed at my disposal much material collected from cities throughout the state. The following series of questions was presented to most of the city clerks:

Questions Asked of City Clerks.

1. Did any party or parties in your city hold pre-primary conventions or caucuses for the selection of candidates for the primary?

2. Did the new law tend to increase the number of party nominees?

3. Was the total vote polled at the primary any larger than is usual at the spring election?

4. What changes would you consider beneficial for municipal elections?

Sample ballots were also collected, and the results of this canvass summarized. Of course many cities sent no information, but the newspapers have given many facts, subject always to a discount for partisanship.

The first inquiry was based upon the generally expressed opinion that the party control would be maintained by a system of preliminary caucuses at which the party candidates would be

chosen, and papers would be filed only for such as were thus endorsed. But the results did not bear out this contention. In only five cities (there are one hundred and fifteen in the state) were such regular caucuses held. Of course everywhere the leaders talked over the situation, considered candidates, and outlined campaigns, but with these exceptions there was no definite attempt to obtain a pre-primary expression of the opinions of the voters. The Social-Democratic party in Milwaukee had no contest at the primary, having made up its ticket beforehand by a referendum vote of the party. But in general wherever a candidate felt himself strong enough to ask for the endorsement of his party, he presented himself at the primary. It must always be seen that a caucus decision can be effective only where the organization is strong enough to absolutely control the situation, for any defeated aspirant might get out his papers, have his name placed upon the primary ticket, and if supported by the voters he would then stand as the regular party candidate in the election despite the caucus choice. All that would be left for an organization candidate under such conditions would be a position as an independent nominee by papers, without the endorsement of the party name.

The Recognition of Party.

Just here it may be well to emphasize the fact that this law is a method of making *party choices within party lines*. Its title is: "An act to provide for party nominations by direct vote." It is not to be judged as if it were a method of free *general* choice, a sort of preliminary election. It strives to bring the selection of party candidates under the control of election laws which will give each voter his voice in the choice of representatives of the principles he supports; it strives to make the primary a contest between the candidates, leaving for the election itself the decision of the choice between principles. It will be said that this recognition of parties in municipal affairs upon the basis of division obtaining in the state and nation, means the bringing into city elections of a party division which has no place there. The tariff or the policy in the Philippines should not be the basis of opposition between candidates for mayor in a city of a few thousand people. All this is very true, but we must recog-

nize the fact that these party organizations do act in very many cities as the machines of party politics. "It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us," despite all our discussion of a theoretical "ought to be." The Wisconsin law meets that condition squarely, and if the party lines are drawn in a city then the choice of candidates within those lines is put directly in the hands of the people instead of being left to the organization in slate-bound caucuses and packed conventions. On the other hand the holding of a primary is not made mandatory if party lines are *not* drawn. In nearly twenty cities this spring no nominations for primaries were filed, no primaries were held, and the elections presented for the consideration of the voters non-partisan candidates whose names had been placed directly upon the ballot by individual nomination papers.

Or if, for example, only one party files nomination papers for the primary, only that one party is in effect issuing a call for a primary, only that one primary ticket is prepared (as in several cities this spring,) and the primary, under all the machinery of elections, resolves itself into a settlement of candidacy within that one party. To be sure, this means expense; it means all the cost of an election to settle an intra-party contest. But isn't it worth it? Is it of no account that that contest may involve an attempt to force out of consideration a candidate and a party element which is fighting for the best interests of that city? Is it not worth what it costs to give the people of that city the decision of such a question? And on the other hand the voters have it always in their power to punish any merely selfish attempt to gain a place.

It is objected, also, that this system involves much needless expense to the candidates themselves, that it really means the conducting of two campaigns instead of one, and that this fact keeps many good men out of the lists. But on the other hand, anyone conversant with the methods of party management must know that this expense cannot be much greater than that required for a campaign before a convention, and furthermore even considerable additional expense would be justified by the fact that it is incurred in a campaign of education appealing directly to the voters, rather than in the more devious and too often darker ways of a contest for delegates.

The Non-Partisan Ticket.

In this connection I may speak of that very useless non-partisan ticket provided for in the primary. By the provisions of the election laws already quoted the non-partisan candidate can gain a place upon the regular ballot upon petition signed by one-half of one per cent. of the voting strength of the district where he seeks nomination. But in order to gain a place on the non-partisan primary ballot this same candidate must file a paper signed by *four times* as many voters as just mentioned (namely, two per cent) and then, having gone through the primary, his name finally rests only in exactly the same place upon the regular election ballot where it might have been so much more easily placed at first, that is, in the column of individual nominations. Going through this contest upon the *non-partisan* ticket can give a candidate no place in a *party* column upon the ballot for election, hence he gains nothing whatever by appearing in the primary at all. The suggestion is made that there should be provided upon the ballot, already far too cumbersome, yet another column distinct from that for individual nominations, in which the successful candidates could find a place, but this again ignores the fact that the direct primary is simply designed to take the place of the former party caucuses and conventions, and not to furnish a new method of selecting non-partisan nominees who are already fully provided for in the regular election laws.

But this whole question of party lines is at the bottom of the chief objections to the actual working of the law. As we have seen, the voter is restricted to a single party ticket in his voting, but through the secrecy of the Australian ballot system which is preserved, that party ticket may or may not be the one which that voter will support at the election two weeks later. From Milwaukee, the only large city in the state, from Madison, the capital, and from many smaller places came the reports of an attempted "stuffing" of the ticket of one party by voters of the other.

Results in Milwaukee.

To illustrate by particular instances: in Milwaukee there were mayorality contests in both the Republican and Democratic ranks, that of the latter being much the keener. The primary vote showed

9024 votes only for the Republican ticket with a majority of nearly 5000 for the victor. But the Democratic primary vote was a total of 26,254 so evenly divided that the nominee had a majority of only about 500 over his rival. Yet at the election two weeks later the Republican nominee was elected with a vote of 22,905 against 21,300 for the Democratic candidate. It was claimed that this showed conclusively that a large number of Republicans had voted the Democratic primary ticket, and had thus attempted to nominate the weaker of two candidates in order that he might later be the more easily defeated.

Results in Madison.

Again, in Madison, where there was a keen contest in the Republican ranks, but only one candidate for mayor on the other ticket, the primary vote showed a total of 3,428 Republican votes for mayor with a majority of some 500 for the chosen nominee, but only 517 votes in all on the Democratic ticket. In the election, however, the Democratic candidate defeated the Republican nominee of the primary by a majority of over 1000, having a vote of 3,281 against 2,235. This could only mean that a large number of those who voted for the choice of a Republican nominee at the primaries, supported the Democratic candidate at the election. Similar conditions prevailed in several other places, and a wide-spread demand was heard for such change in the law, through a declaration of party affiliation or otherwise, as would serve to keep voters within their own party lines. Said one paper: "Party lines are wiped out, combinations such as were never dreamed of under the caucus law are possible, party spirit and principle have been lost, one party can dictate the nominees of another."

The Maintenance of Party Lines.

There are, however, some arguments to be noted upon the other side. In the first place, there will regularly be a sufficient number and interest in the contest in any given party to keep most of the voters of that party within the lines. Again, this breaking of strict partisan spirit is just what has been contended for in municipal affairs. The law recognizes the basis of party division because under our political conditions it must do so to be at all effective; they do exist and

and must be either controlled through law and made subject to the expression of popular will, or else left as heretofore to the dictatorial management of party leaders and machine organization, a dictation far more dangerous than any which can be accomplished by a manipulation of voters in the primary. And most important of all, this last so-called dictation is in reality just what, working normally through a voting in the primary as each voter chooses, is needed to give in municipal affairs the real choice of a majority, or at least a large plurality. The voter who breaks across a party line in the primary is registering his choice of a candidate, and what right has any one to pre-judge that that choice will be of the weaker candidate? I am a firm believer in the innate good in democracy; the average voter is not a corrupt tool ready to follow the behest of a boss. Our working of the party system has made it possible for leadership to control, but because such leadership has too often controlled for its own selfish ends is no final argument against the party principle. Let us have the educative power of a direct primary added to that of the regular election; let us make it so much the more difficult for any leader to control nominations in the interests of the few, by preserving that fundamental safeguard the secrecy of the ballot; then put each voter in the booth with only "his God and a lead pencil," and trust him to vote as he believes is best for his city, his state, his country. If the alternative is offered between that and any public declaration of party allegiance which puts the voter back under the power of the politician, the choice ought not to be difficult. The former may have dangers, but the latter has been tried long enough to make *its* dangers only too real. Give the voter a chance to assert his citizenship, bring into play all the educative facilities and aids possible, and leave the working out of the result to that deep American spirit of good government in which we all believe.

Increase of Primary Law.

These primaries in Wisconsin have brought out in every case more votes than were accustomed to appear at the old party caucuses, the average ranging from one-third of the voting strength where there was no contest to two-thirds or three-fourths of the registered vote where the interest had been aroused by

some radical difference of principle. And in general these voters had something definite to decide and were not practically forced merely to endorse a slate already prepared for them. Where there was only one candidate for an office there were often names written in upon the ballot, in some cases such candidates even getting the nomination though no papers had been filed for them. This too aroused opposition, the suggestion coming from several cities that either such candidates should not be considered at all, or else that they should be required to poll a certain percentage of the total vote in order to receive the nomination. On the other hand it must be said, without attempting to consider the very nice legal points involved, that such a registration of a free vote, a voting power untrammeled by the strict lines of a list of names presented, shows an independence that is of most happy augury for the future. It may well be that some such restriction as a percentage requirement would be wise where no candidate for the office upon that ticket has been presented by nomination papers. It seems that such a nominee should be held to at least the same requirements as those imposed upon the candidates who do file papers. But if, on the other hand, there are already nominees upon the ballot, the support given through written votes to another not so appearing should receive its full recognition.

That this leaving of the question of the choice of nominee to the initiative of the voters themselves was rather common is shown by the unanimous negative answer returned to our second question, a definite answer also to the objection expressed against the law that "the practical effect of it is to compel every party to have a separate candidate for every office." To be sure, no candidate can be endorsed by more than one party; even if nominated upon more than one ticket he must choose that upon which he will run. In effect, however, this amounts to an endorsement as it leaves no opponent against him upon the other ticket. As opposed to this view it is pointed out that such a vacancy would be a "vacancy occurring after the primary" which according to section 13 "shall [not may] be filled by the party committee of the city." Whether this would be so construed as to force the committee to put upon the ballot another candidate contrary to

the expressed desire of the voters to consider only the nominee of another party, is but one more in the list of problems which this first trial of the law has brought up.

The Complexities of the Law.

But all these intricate complexities requiring adjustment are really but subjects of amendment; the innate principle of the law remains untouched by these changes. The gravest problem is the question of the preservation of the secret ballot as against the upholding of party lines in the vote by a public declaration of party affiliation. But even the latter system has been far from successful in holding the voter within those lines, as may be shown by a comparison of the party division in the primary and the regular election in Minneapolis, for example. I firmly believe that the advantage of the secret ballot far outweighs the disadvantages urged against it. The Wisconsin law thus offers to the voter the opportunity to register his free choice by direct vote for a nominee for every office open to the election. It allows him to prepare that vote in secret and deposit it without any public alliance with any political organization. It does hold him within the lines of a party which he chooses, but if the lines of cleavage in municipal affairs, as different from the regular party lines, are real they will find representation in opposing candidates upon the party tickets, and there the voter may register his choice without accountability to any one. It may be contrary to theory to recognize the party lines at all, but I believe I am justified in saying that no primary law which does not recognize them could possibly pass any state legislature in the country at the present time. So in closing this paper I would urge every student of political affairs to remember that progress must be made under the guidance of a "sane idealism" which turns the facts of the present to good account in its course toward a better future. "The child of hope with his eyes open" will not stumble over the obstacles in his path because of an unseeing gaze fixed upon the ultimate goal. He will get around or over them in turn because he cannot pass them all at a bound, and only that sane mind and the eyes that see can be trusted to lead us forward.

Australian Ballot System of Massachusetts.

By RICHARD H. DANA, Esq., Boston,
Member of the Executive Committee, Massachusetts Election Laws League.

The Massachusetts method of voting at elections under the Australian system, we, in Massachusetts, believe secures the greatest freedom for the expression of public opinion and the most complete secrecy.

I should say, in advance, that Massachusetts is not so native-born a State as many people suppose, nor does it stand so high educationally. Only forty-four out of one hundred of our citizens are native born of native parents. Fifty-six in one hundred are either foreign born or children of foreign born. As to illiteracy, their are twenty-two other States or Territories with less proportion of illiterates than Massachusetts, we standing twenty-third. We have, however, a reading and writing qualification for voters. But let me explain that that is far from meaning that every voter can pass a civil service examination for clerk or copyist. The writing test consists solely in writing one's name. The spelling need not conform to the usual methods, and capital letters, such as are used in printing, will pass. The reading consists practically in a test on the first few words of the Massachusetts Constitution, and, no matter in how stumbling and halting a manner the words may be spelled out, the candidate passes, while in many cases there is strong reason to believe that the first few words have been learned by heart.

Illiteracy in Massachusetts.

In addition to this, all those who were voters in 1857 are free from any test at all. To be sure, there are not many such now, as they would have to be sixty-nine years of age or over; but in 1889, when the Ballot Law first went into effect, they were only fifty-three years of age and over.

Under the Massachusetts system, as you doubtless know, all the candidates for the same office are grouped together alpha-

betically on the ballot, with the party name or names after each candidate; and a citizen votes for an official in a group by placing a cross-mark opposite the name and party designation of the candidate he chooses. Specimen ballots printed on colored paper are posted in public places in the streets and also in the polling rooms, so that voters may examine them before receiving an official ballot.

Objections to the Massachusetts Ballot.

The chief objections urged against the Massachusetts method are, that it takes too long to mark the ballot; that it must cause delay in large precincts especially; that the less educated must be discouraged and stay away from the polls, or, if they come, must make mistakes; that the system must favor independence to the extent of breaking up the parties; that there is a general falling-off from the head of the ticket, because, as it is sometimes urged, the voters get tired and stop marking; that persons standing first in the groups, with names nearer the head of the alphabet, have an advantage over those coming lower down, and that, generally speaking, the system is not popular.

On all these points we have a good deal of accurate information. The average city precinct has from 400 to 700 or 800 registered male voters, a few have over 1,000, and some of those are in manufacturing districts, where most of the voters have to vote early in the morning or at the noon hour. There

Time Required for Marking Ballot.

are eleven polling places in the State in which there are from 2,000 to upwards of 3,000 registered voters in each,[1] and yet there has been no difficulty in their all voting without delay or inconvenience. The actual time in marking a single ballot, when something like eighteen out of fifty-five names are marked, which is a good full State election, averages less than two minutes, while many people mark their ballots in less than one minute. In large precincts, by having a sufficient number of marking booths, the people in crowded hours deposit their marked ballots about as rapidly as they can pass the check-list officials.

As to people generally being kept away from the polls, in

[1] Assessed Polls, Registered Voters and Persons who Voted, 1904. Pub. Doc. Mass. No. 43, pp. 12 to 49.

the first four years it was found that more people by twenty per cent.[1] voted for Governor than in the last four years under the old system. Again, the Massachusetts census, taken ten years apart, in 1885, 1895 and 1905, gives us the number of so-called "legal voters," that is, those men over twenty-one years of age who were either native born or naturalized, who had lived one year in the State and six months in the city or town where they resided, and could read and write, and who were thus capable of being voters. I have figured out the proportion of actual voters voting in the State election, in the years in which the census was taken, to the total number of possible voters. Each one of those years was a non-presidential, non-congressional year, and furnished a very good basis of comparison. I find that since the Australian system went into effect, the proportion voting has been twenty-three per cent. greater than in the census year before (1885).[2]

[1] Votes cast for Governor in Massachusetts:

Old System.		*New System.*	
1885	209,688	1889	263,111
1886	243,769	1890	295,430
1887	266,032	1891	330,451
1888 (Presidential Year)	343,114	1892 (Presidential Year)	380,137
Total four years	1,062,603	Total four years	1,269,129

These figures are taken from the Reports of the Committee of the whole Council on votes of State officers (Mass.), and are also found in the manuals for the General Court for the several years.

The gain is 206,526, or very nearly an average gain of 20% in four years. This is greater than the growth of the population, which in the same period averaged between 11% and 12% in four years.

It is true that the requirement of a paid poll tax as a prerequisite for voting was repealed so as to affect the voters of 1892, but the increase in 1889, 1890 and 1891 over the years 1885, 1886 and 1887 (all non-presidential years) was greater than the increase of 1892 over 1888.

[2]

	Possible Legal Voters.	Votes for Governor.	Percentage Voting of Possible Voters.	Percentage of Increase of Percent.
1885	442,616	209,688	47.4	
1895	560,802	321,121	58.6	23+
1905	674,174	391,321	58.+	22+

See State Census of Mass. for 1885, 1895 and 1905, and also Manual for General Court for the same years.

The Percentage of Voters.

As to the less educated especially being kept away from the polls, the cities are supposed to contain a larger proportion of illiterate voters than the towns, and yet, in the three years beginning with 1889, when the Massachusetts Act went into effect, the percentage of registered voters voting in the twenty-five cities was greater than the percentage voting in the towns,[1] while Holyoke, Lowell, Cambridge and Lawrence, all of them manufacturing cities, stood the highest in 1889. In 1890, Lowell was the highest, with 89%; Lawrence, 88%; Fall River, 87%, and in 1891, Lowell, over 90%; Cambridge, over 90%; and Salem, 89%. In the city elections in 1890, Fall River voted over 92%; Lowell, 90%; Lawrence, 90%, and in 1891, Fall River again voted over 92%; Lowell, 91%, and Holyoke, 90%.[2] Again, taking the six wards in Boston, representing the least education and the greatest proportion of manual laborers, we find that the percentage of registered voters voting in 1889, the first year the Massachusetts law went into effect, was almost exactly the same at the State

[1] Vote:

	Percentage of Voters Voting in Cities.	Percentage of Voters Voting in Towns.
1889*	75.3	64.7
1890†	83.16	72.63
1891†	86.71	80.06

[2]

1889.‡		1890.§		1891.§	
		STATE ELECTIONS.			
Holyoke	85.0%	Lowell	89.62%	Lowell	90.69%
Lowell	83.1%	Lawrence	88.45%	Cambridge	90.26%
Cambridge	79.6%	Fall River	87.29%	Salem	89.85%
Lawrence	78.8%				
Av. for State	70.7%	Av. for State	78.21%	Av. for State	83.82%
		CITY ELECTIONS.			
(No statistics for city elections in 1889. 1st publication of Pub. Doc. 43 was in 1890.)		Fall River	92.66%	Fall River	92.62%
		Lowell	90.54%	Lowell	91.06%
		Lawrence	90.31%	Holyoke	90.12%

* From unpublished State Records.

† From Mass. Pub. Doc. No. 43, for 1890 and 1891.

‡ Unpublished State Records. § Mass. Pub. Doc. No. 43, for 1890 and 1891.

election as the percentage in the six wards containing the greatest number of well-educated voters, while, in the following municipal election, the least educated wards had 4% larger proportion of their registered voters actually voting than the best educated;[1] and when I say "voting" I mean marking their ballots so as to be counted.

The same thing continues to this present day. In this very last election of 1905, the percentage of registered voters who voted in the three wards representing the least education was within one or two one-hundredths of one per cent. the same as the percentage that voted in the three wards representing the most education. It may be said that while the percentage of registered voters voting may have been large, the citizens may have been discouraged from being registered. A careful examination shows that, in the six Boston wards representing the least education, as well as in the city at large, the number of registered voters was larger the first four years under the new system than in the four years previous, while the population was nearly at a standstill in those wards.[2]

While the system undoubtedly favors independent voting, it

[1]

1889.	State Election.	City Election
6 Boston Wards with least average education ..	76.74	83.30
6 " " " most " " ..	76.79	79.61

[2] Total Registered Voters, Wards 6, 7, 8, 12, 13 and 19 (Boston).

Old System.		*New System.*	
1885	12,633	1889	13,463
1886	11,665	1890	12,881
1887	12,777	1891	13,054
1888	15,010	1892	15,675
	51,485		55,073

Population of Same Wards.

1885	1895
98,229	99,025

an increase of 796 population, or .0081, in ten years, equal to about three-tenths of one per cent. in four years. See Mass. Census of 1895, pp. 62 and 63 (special table comparing ward population on *old* ward lines, new ward lines having been drawn in 1895).

has, by no means, broken up parties. That it does, however, secure to the voters a free chance to express their views has been most markedly shown. In the State election of November, 1905, the candidate for District Attorney for Boston and the rest of Suffolk County, nominated by both parties, was defeated by Mr. Moran, who was nominated solely by petition. This was a clear protest of a majority of the citizens against what they thought was a cut-and-dried nomination, and a demonstration in favor of one in whose promises to attack established evils they sincerely believed. In 1904, though the State went Republican for President by 92,000, it went Democratic for Governor by nearly 36,000 on the same day and on the same ballots, while again, Mr. Curtis Guild, Jr., Republican, was elected Lieutenant-Governor by over 30,000 plurality, a shifting of about 126,000 party votes, or more than one-quarter of a total vote of 450,000. In 1889, the city of Boston, which had just gone Democratic by a large majority in the State election, went Republican in the municipal election the very next month. Last November, Mr. Curtis Guild, Jr., Republican, was elected Governor by 22,500, while Mr. Eben S. Draper, also Republican, was elected Lieutenant-Governor by less than 2,000 plurality. Neither the Governor nor the Lieutenant-Governor, however, received as many votes as either of the Republican candidates elected at large for the positions of Secretary, Treasurer or Auditor of the Commonwealth. An issue had been made on the tariff, and the chief issue had been centered in the candidates for Lieutenant-Governor, as Mr. Guild, the candidate for Governor, was more liberal in his construction of the tariff-revision plank than Mr. Draper, the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor.

Independent Voting Favored.

Without wearying you with further details of this sort, I can say, in general, that wherever there has been a distinct public sentiment in any direction, it has found ready expression through the ballot, and the method of marking is so simple that there is no danger of making a mistake. It is just as easy and simple to vote independently as to vote "straight," *and takes no more time.*

Ready Expression of Public Sentiment.

As to the complaint that there is a falling-off from the head of the ticket, "because the voters get tired of voting and stop, from sheer fatigue," it is, to be sure, generally true that there is a falling-off from the head of the ticket, but this is by no means universally the case. A careful analysis of the votes will disclose the fact that the voters voted for those offices that interested them, and over which there had been some canvass, no matter where located on the ballot. For example, in some State Senatorial Districts where there have been close contests, more ballots have been marked in those districts (or in some wards of those districts) for State Senator, though near the end of the ballot, than for Governor at the head.[1] The total vote for State Senators is larger, as a rule, than the vote for the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Treasurer and Auditor, which are much nearer the top. It would probably be as large as the vote for Governor, were it not that, in many Senatorial Districts, the minority vote especially is light as one party or the other is so tremendously in the ascendant that the only contest has been in the nomination. The election has been a foregone conclusion. I base this surmise on my examination of the per cent. of votes to registered voters cast for Senators in the close Boston districts. I have found it frequently exceeds or equals the per cent cast for Governor at the same election in the whole city.[2]

[1] For example: (See Annual Reports, Dept. Reg. Voters, Boston.)

Ward	13,	1889,	33	more	for	Senator	than	for	Governor,	pp. 13 and 26.
"	15,	1890,	93	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	11,	1903,	267	"	"	"	"	"	"	pp. 84 and 97.
"	25,	"	83	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	1,	"		"	"	"	"	"	"	pp. 84 and 89.

There are doubtless many more instances. I have not exhausted even the Boston Reports for senatorial elections alone on this point.

[2] The same is true for some Councillor and Congressional Districts in Boston where there have been close contests. (Only Boston statistics have been examined.) These offices come after the general state offices on the official ballot.

(The pp. refer to Annual Reports, Boston Board of Election Commissioners, for the respective years.)

There is also another consideration to be borne in mind. Under our original Constitution, framed by our wise forefathers in Massachusetts, only a few officials were voted for in State elections, namely, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Governor's Councillor, County Commissioners, State Senators and Representatives. In 1855, during the "Know Nothing" movement, the Secretary

1892.

Vote for Governor	84.40
8th Congress. Dist. ...	84.41, p. 13
11th " " ...	85.29, p. 19
7th Senatorial " ...	84.29, p. 26

1893.

Vote for Governor	80.95, p. 8
2d Senatorial Dist.....	81.76, p. 11
7th " "	80.81, p. 16

1894.

Vote for Governor	75.86
9th Congress. Dist. ...	75.33, p. 8
10th " " ...	76.47, p. 18
1st Senatorial " ...	76.74, p. 20
2d " " ...	75.38, p. 21
6th " " ...	75.32, p. 25
7th " " ...	75.54, p. 26
8th " " ...	75.53, p. 27

1895.

Vote for Governor	76.43
3d Senatorial Dist.....	78.73, p. 25
7th " "	78.91, p. 29

1897.

Vote for Governor	64.03
2d Senatorial Dist.....	64.06, p. 23

1898.

Vote for Governor	69.62
9th Congress. Dist. ...	70.79, p. 27
10th " " ...	71.45, p. 30
1st Senatorial " ...	70.92, p. 31
2d " " ...	69.76, p. 32
7th " " ...	70.51, p. 37
9th " " ...	70.24, p. 39

1899.

Vote for Governor	61.78
8th Senatorial Dist. ...	63.34, p. 26
9th " " ...	63.72, p. 27

1900.

Vote for Governor	73.40
8th Congress. Dist. ...	74.85, p. 38
10th " " ...	80.44, p. 44
11th " " ...	78.35, p. 46
2d Councillor " ...	74.33, p. 47
2d Senatorial " ...	74.23, p. 50
5th " " ...	75.13, p. 53
7th " " ...	77.53, p. 55
8th " " ...	74.49, p. 56
9th " " ...	76.32, p. 57

1901.

Vote for Governor	68.38, p. 22
8th Senatorial Dist....	71.07, p. 34
9th " " ...	70.98, p. 35

1902.

Vote for Governor	78.41
11th Congress. Dist. ..	79.22, p. 27
7th Senatorial " ..	78.08, p. 37
8th " " ..	80.73, p. 38
9th " " ..	78.24, p. 39

1903.

Vote for Governor	74.76
1st Senatorial Dist. ...	77.23, p. 89
8th " " ...	75.22, p. 96
9th " " ...	76.15, p. 97

1904.

Vote for Governor	80.56, p. 86
11th Congress. Dist. ..	80.37, p. 97

of the Commonwealth, who has no political powers whatsoever, but is merely a responsible head clerk of a large and important office, the Treasurer and the Auditor, who also represent no public policy, the Attorney-General, District Attorneys, Sheriffs, Special Commissioners, Commissioners of Insolvency, Registers of Deeds, Registers of Probate and Clerks of Court, were all made elective. As a rule, there has been no public canvass for these non-political officials, and the people at large take little interest in them; not one voter in a hundred can name one-half of his party's candidates for these purely administrative offices after he has left the polling booth. For the large, non-political State offices, the Republican candidates, (with one exception, where there was a scandal reported), have been invariably elected since the Civil War, and in the other non-political positions, one party or the other has, in most districts, regularly carried the elections, excepting where there has been some strong personal objection .to a candidate, and a strong independent movement Where such instances have occurred, the vote has been large; but it is natural, and indeed only an indication of the freedom of expression of public volition, through the ballot system, that the vote has been somewhat lighter, as a rule, for the non-political offices exciting no public attention. A careful canvass, made in several polling precincts, has disclosed the fact that a number of persons prefer not to vote for those officials in whom they have no interest, and of whose capacity and fitness they are not aware.

Multiplicity of Elective Offices.

Another bit of evidence to show that the falling off in the vote is not because of the inability of the voter to mark, or because he "gets tired," is that the falling off is just about in the same proportion in those wards where the voters are largely made up of clerks, cashiers and business men, as it is in those wards made up chiefly of manual laborers.[1]

Falling Off of Vote.

Nor is it true that there is always a falling off in the order in

[1] Ward 13, for example, which cast more votes for Senator than for Governor in 1899, contained a larger per cent. of manual laborers than any other ward of Boston.

which the offices stand. For example, in the presidential election of 1904, the *total* vote for President was 4,000 less than the total for Governor, though the vote for Roosevelt was so very much greater than it was for the Republican gubernatorial candidate. The explanation seems to have been that the election of President Roosevelt was a foregone conclusion, while, on the other hand, the contest for Governor was close. Again, in the same year, the Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, who stood in the third group on the ballot, did not get as many votes as the Republican candidates respectively for Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor or Attorney-General, who came lower down on the ballot, the movement for a Democratic Governor apparently having its effect upon the Lieutenant-Governor, but not upon the other State officials. Again, the candidate for Attorney-General, Mr. Herbert Parker, who had conducted several causes celebres in a most fair-minded, dignified and able manner, casting great credit upon the office, and arousing the good opinion of all thoughtful citizens, though he was in the seventh group, received more votes than any one in the four groups preceding him.

Falling Off Not Excessive.

Again, the falling off is not excessive. It is only from five per cent. to ten per cent., and usually more in the minority party than in the majority, so that the results are not changed, excepting where there is an independent movement. Even before the Australian Ballot Law was introduced, where, as in New York, ballots were put in different urns for national and State offices, there was found to be about the same falling off between the total vote for President and the total vote for Assemblyman in 1888 as is now found on the Massachusetts ballot. Indeed, this falling off represents only the falling off of public interest. On the other hand, the party column and single mark manufacture an appearance of interest in the minor offices that does not really exist, and tend to carry all nominations along with the momentum given by a respectable heading of the ticket, while the Massachusetts system compels, what we believe to be a most valuable feature, separate consideration for each office to be filled.

As ex-Mayor Quincy of Boston said at the Election Laws

Conference in New York (1906), he did not see why a voter did not have as good a right to omit marking candidates for special offices as to stay away from the polls altogether. The percentage of registered voters who do not come to the polls in the state at large is seldom less than 15 and sometimes runs up to 38. The falling off in the vote for Governor between a presidential year and the "off" years following is usually far greater than the falling off from Governor to the other State officers in the same year.

The Alphabetical Advantage.

As to the claim that the one whose surname begins with A has an advantage over the one whose surname begins with W in the same group on the ballot, there is just a slight basis of fact for this contention. In some minor offices, over which there has been no contest, particularly where four or five vacancies of the same kind and in the same group are to be filled, such as members of school committees, assessors of taxes, and the like, and especially where the candidates have been nominated on non-partisan or citizens' tickets, an initial letter early in the alphabet has been a decided advantage. But even in these minor offices this has not been true where there has been a public contest, as has been proven over and over again.

In the more important State offices, in recent years, it has almost always been the fact that the person elected has been low down alphabetically in the group. For example, the name of Governor Douglass, elected by such a large majority in 1904, in the face of the overwhelming Republican vote for President, was last in the group of candidates for Governor. Mr. Curtis Guild, Jr., who was elected Republican, notwithstanding this State landslide towards Democracy, stood next to the last in his group, and just after the Democratic candidate whom he defeated. Mr. Olin, elected Secretary of the Commonwealth, stood last in his group. Mr. Turner, Republican candidate, elected for Auditor, stood last in his, and Mr. Herbert Parker, elected Attorney-General by a large vote for that office, stood third on his, following the Democratic candidate, all those elected receiving unusually large votes, as already stated. So, in 1905, Mr. Curtis Guild, Jr., elected Governor, stood fourth. Mr. Eben S.

Draper stood third in his group, while Mr. Henry M. Whitney, who got an unusually large vote for a Democrat, stood fifth in the same group, and the Republican candidates elected for Auditor and Attorney-General were the last and the next to the last, respectively, in their groups.

In the last municipal election in Boston for which we have statistics (1904), neither with the Aldermen nor with the members of the Common Council was the size of the vote in the alphabetical order of those elected. The thirteen Aldermen were elected at large, out of a group of forty-five names, but the man at the very end of this long group had the largest vote. Members of the Common Council are elected, three in each of the twenty-five wards. There were fifteen wards in 1904 in which the size of the vote of those elected was not according to the alphabetical order, and only ten in which it was. In several wards, the first were last and the last first.[1]

In the recent Cambridge city election, the vote for thirteen Aldermen, all elected at large, has again flatly contradicted the alphabetical theory. I have the word of the most experienced ballot law commissioner that the initial-letter theory is practically a myth.

Popularity of System.

As to the popularity of the Massachusetts system, we can say that, though several attempts have been made to adopt the party column and single mark system, they have been always defeated, and in the last effort, some years ago, voting booths were put up by a committee of the Election Laws League in the legislative committee room of the State House, where the hearing was held, and public demonstration was made that it was possible to distinguish, by the time spent in the booth, between the voter on the one hand who voted "straight," and wished to show he had done so by coming quickly out as soon as he had made his single mark, and on the other hand, the voter who voted to any extent independently; also that with the party column and single-mark system, errors in counting were much more likely to be made, and confusion was caused in the mind of the independent voter as to the method of marking. This demonstration was so conclusive that

[1] Pp. 109 to 121, Report of Election Commissioners, Boston, for 1904.

no attempt has since been made to introduce the party column system in Massachusetts.

We have a very good illustration of the popularity of the Massachusetts system in the case of the 320 towns in the State. They all know the Australian system, because they have to use it in State elections, but in their own town elections they are free to use it or not as they please. Almost every considerable town in the State, after full knowledge of the system, has adopted the Massachusetts method, and taking all the towns together, large and small, the same can be said of two-thirds of them, it being mostly the very smallest towns in which the system has not been adopted. The method is also used in the election of overseers at Harvard College, and throughout the State, almost universally, as if by common consent, in any election in which a considerable number of persons take part.

As to counting the ballots, it takes no longer than it used to under the old system of voting by separate ballots, wherever there were split tickets, though it takes longer than when the tickets were all "straight," which, however, was not usually the case. Just how long it would take to count in comparison with the party column system, I have no way of measuring. I should assume, however, that where most of the voters voted the straight ticket, it would be easier to count under the New York system, but that where there is much scratching, there would not be much difference in time, but much more chance of error in the party column system.

Nomination by Petition.

As to nomination by petition in Massachusetts, as a rule, two days after the last day for filing the nominations by caucus or convention are allowed for filing nominations by petition. For the Governor or any other official elected by the State at large, there must be at least a thousand signatures of voters, and for every other official, one for every hundred votes cast for Governor within the District at the preceding State election, but not less than fifty for a State or municipal election, and not less than twenty for a town. That means about 200 for Mayor of Worecester, nearly 1,000 for Mayor of Boston, and fifty for State Senator and Representative, for examples.

To sum up, under the Massachusetts system, the ballots are rapidly and easily marked. There is no delay or blocking, even at very large precincts. The voters are not kept from voting, but, on the contrary, come to the polls more than before the system was adopted. The less educated, and even those accustomed chiefly to manual labor, mark their ballots intelligently and clearly. There is little falling-off in the vote from the head of the ticket to offices lower down, except for offices that do not interest the public, and even there, in no way of itself, does this falling off alter the results. On the other hand, each office gets separate consideration, and this tends to raise the character of the nominations for the less important offices on the ticket. The alphabetical order makes practically no difference, in cases where the public have an opinion to express, and the system is popular with the people, and even the party workers have to profess to like it, whether they do or not.[1]

[1] Note on the Rhode Island experience.

Rhode Island has recently gone from the Massachusetts system to the New York single mark method. The test, especially in the cities in Rhode Island, was very severe. The State and municipal elections were held the same day. That State has an unusually large number of offices filled by election that are usually appointive in other States, and in addition to that, the members of the Legislature are elected at large in the cities, so that the voters in Providence have candidates from which to choose *eleven* members on their ballot. In addition to that, the authorities have persisted (against remonstrances) in folding this very long official ballot in a way to mislead the voters as much as possible.

The claim publicly made that one ballot was found with a cross well made for the head of a ticket, a poorly made cross for the next, and a mere curved mark for the third, as an illustration of the fatigue of the voters, is hardly worth serious consideration. It is much more likely that this was so marked for the purpose of manufacturing evidence, or that it was tampered with on a recount.

The Initiative and the Referendum.

By LOUIS F. POST, Chicago,
Editor of "The Public."

Were I asked to single out the most distinctively American of all our political institutions, I should name the New England town meeting. Yet I am influenced by no New England bias. A Dutchman from the fresh water streams and hilly horizons of northern New Jersey, I merely acknowledge what no one can fairly deny. The New England town meeting has woven its story into the history of the whole Republic, and its lessons, pregnant with democracy, have been learned in every township.

The New England Town Meeting.

Of course, New England cannot claim priority of invention. In some form or other, the town meeting has always existed. They had it in Athens and in Rome; it was once a Scandinavian institution, and also a Germanic; even in Russia its survival in some localities after centuries of centralized despotism has preserved a degree of liberty in local affairs down to our own day. It prevailed in England until the development of landlordism had undermined it and made way for the Norman conquest; and Switzerland has not only maintained it unimpaired but has vastly improved it. The oldest mode of government known—dating back historically to times whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, and by sociological inference to the very earliest political organizations—the town meeting cannot indeed be called a New England institution in the sense of original invention. But does not the notable transplanting here by New England of this ancient institution, together with the supreme importance of its influence upon the political development of our whole country, fully warrant my opening statement? Isn't it

true that the most distinctly American of all our political institutions is the New England town meeting?

May we not add that it is also one of our best? Convinced that it is, I earnestly urge the advisability of extending its application and perfecting it in form. To this end let me invite a moment's preliminary reflection upon its nature.

What is the essential principle of the New England town meeting? I take it to be two-fold: first, municipal home rule; and, second, direct legislation. With the home-rule feature this paper has little to do. We ought, however, to observe in passing that the idea of municipal home rule is coming into more general acceptance as the problems of municipal government attract greater attention and cause closer study. This fact may suggest their error to such of our friends as imagine that direct legislation in the United States is a far cry. The same political impulses that are speeding us on to the policy of home rule for municipalities are likewise speeding us on to direct legislation in municipalities. Indeed, without people's rule at home, home rule would be a delusion; for home rule by local dynasties, whether political or financial, is as undemocratic as imperial centralization.

That the truth of this is felt by the people is evident from the fact, for fact it is, that the New England town-meeting principle, not only in its home rule aspect but also in its direct-legislation aspect, is taking a hold upon public opinion such as has not been experienced before in many a year. I doubt if it has been so strongly felt in America since the time when Thomas Hooker and his congregation, faithful churchmen though they were, migrated from Massachusetts to the Connecticut wilderness rather than countenance a town-meeting system which limited the suffrage to church members. It is with the principle that moved Hooker's congregation to quit Massachusetts that I am here chiefly concerned,—the same principle that moved Abraham Lincoln two centuries later to proclaim as the American political ideal that government must be not only of the people and for the people but by the people. And this ideal can be realized in no other way, I confidently submit, than by some such adaptation of the town meeting principle of direct legislation as is offered by the Initiative and the Referendum.

Definitions.

By the Initiative we understand the reservation to the people of the power of originating legislation by direct vote; the Referendum is the reservation to the people of the power, also by direct vote, of vetoing the objectionable legislation of representatives. Considered as correlative methods of popular government, the two differ from the town-meeting system only in their adaptation of its essential principle to larger uses. At the old town meeting the people voted on questions of public policy orally or by show of hands and in the confusion of a mass meeting. This was direct legislation in its narrowest and crudest form. In its broadest and most refined and effective form, direct legislation is by the Initiative and the Referendum. For the confusion of mass meetings these substitute campaigns of general discussion, culminating in individual voting by ballot. In place of popular legislation on all subjects, as at our old town meetings, they would repose legislative authority in representative bodies precisely as now, but would safeguard this delegation of authority by reserving to the people their inherent power of command and veto, to be exercised at all seasonable times and with reference to all legislative subjects. They would enable the people themselves, who are the ultimate source of governing authority, to compel legislation if the legislature were laggard, and to stop legislation if the legislature were swift. Designed to guide and govern legislation with reference rather to principle and policy than to detail and form, the Initiative and the Referendum are to the old New England town meeting as is a modern dwelling house to the old log cabin. Perfected in form, and general as well as local in application, they would operate comprehensively, in all respects and at all times, for securing to the people their sovereign powers unimpaired; and thereby, as we contend, they would continuously and effectively guard the people from misrepresentation by representatives.

The Swiss Examples.

In their comprehensive application, the Initiative and the Referendum originated with the Swiss, these correlative methods of direct legislation having now been available to the people of Switzerland for a quarter of a century. Their character and effect in that democratic oasis of Europe is tersely described by McCracken in

his inspiring story, "The Rise of the Swiss Republic." He says that they have developed "the Swiss people into a nation governing itself upon an almost ideal plan, directly, logically and without intermediaries." But this ideal plan is only a common sense adaptation to larger constituencies and newer conditions, of the essential principle of the same town-meeting customs which Americans trace to New England, and with which the Swiss were familiar half a thousand years before there was a New England.

Genuine Americanism has no call to quarrel with this plan whencesoever it may have come. The town-meeting parentage of the Initiative and the Referendum, which in itself commends them to our favorable consideration, is coupled with a recommendation that should appeal to our patriotic sympathies. For the Swiss initiative and referendum sprang out of that revival of the democratic spirit in Europe which culminated in the French revolution of 1830, and brought to an end the era of the divine right of kings. A democratic republic like ours, whose boast it is that the people are sovereign and even their highest official is their servant, stultifies itself if it rejects as a foreign exotic what is in fact a weapon for the security of popular government. There is another reason still for turning a deaf ear to those who argue that the Swiss initiative and referendum are alien institutions. Not alone do these correlated devices appeal to American democracy because they were born of the democratic spirit. Not only do they demand our favorable consideration because they are logical developments of the town-meeting principle of our own New England. Beyond these primary considerations they are historically American even in scope and form, albeit the historical American form is imperfect. The Swiss did no more in this matter than to perfect a form of democratic government which we had long before invented and crudely used.

Early American Examples.

Having always recognized the democratic principle that sovereignty resides in the people, we began our constitution-making with the Initiative and the Referendum. Massachusetts took the lead with the Referendum as long ago as 1778. The constitution then sub-

mitted to the people was defeated, but in 1779 a similar referendum resulted favorably. Other States followed, and in 1821 New York joined this democratic procession. Since that time the custom has been almost unbroken among American States. The exceptions, other than those connected with the secession period of 1860-61, are Florida in 1838, Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina and Delaware in 1895, and Louisiana in 1898. In each of these instances, however, with the possible exception of Florida, the unconcealed purpose of denying the referendum was in contravention of the fundamental American doctrine that sovereignty resides with the people.

As with the organic Referendum so with the organic Initiative, the former having as a rule in the United States been accompanied by the latter. It is said to have been quite as common (perhaps there have been fewer exceptions to the rule), for the people by direct vote to initiate the calling of conventions to formulate new constitutions, as it has been for them to pass by referendum upon new constitutions when formulated. Just as Massachusetts was the American pioneer with the organic Referendum, so Georgia appears to have been with the organic Initiative. Back in 1777, a year before the Massachusetts referendum, Georgia provided in her constitution for an initiative by requiring that the constitution should not be altered "without petitions from a majority of the counties, the petition from each county to be signed by a majority of voters." But thereupon the legislature was required to call a convention to amend the constitution, the call to specify "the alterations to be made according to the petitions."

With so broad a recognition of popular sovereignty, advances from the generals of the constitutional to the particulars of the legislative initiative and referendum were natural and logical. Does not the greater include the less? If a people can directly dictate general constitutional powers and limitations, why may they not directly dictate specific legislation? There is but one valid reason to the contrary. In establishing general powers and limitations in their organic law, they may have delegated their specific powers. In such a case it is clear that they cannot without revolution resume those powers otherwise than by the con-

stitutional methods which they themselves have established. But this reason would obviously fail in any case in which the people by their constitution either did not create a legislative agency with exclusive powers, or did reserve to themselves the right not only of organic but also of legislative initiative and referendum.

Judicial Recognition.

Moreover, our courts have completely established the rule that though legislative power be so conferred upon a legislative body as to prevent a general transfer of that power by that body, even to the people themselves, yet a transfer of the power for local purposes and within local limitations may be made not only to local and subordinate legislative bodies, but to the people of the respective localities. This is a clear judicial acknowledgment of the Initiative and the Referendum as American institutions.

And both have been resorted to in the United States for many local purposes and over a long period of time. The mere recital of instances would astonish some of the patriotic objectors who denounce the Initiative and the Referendum as foreign. If any institution is more distintively American than another, and this without reference, if you please, to its town-meeting origin and its use in constitution-making, but with reference only to the statutory history of the States of the American Union, it is the institution of the Initiative and the Referendum. "They exist together in fact if not in name in nearly all the States of the Union." So says Dr. Oberholtzer in his work on "The Referendum in America," a book which is without bias unless the bias be against the general initiative and referendum that I am advocating. It is withal a book whose claims to be "an unvarnished historical account" are justly made, and I cordially acknowledge indebtedness to it for most of the statements of fact in this paper.

The Legislative Referendum.

According to Dr. Oberholtzer the legislative referendum in the United States dates back some twenty years earlier than the period of its beginnings in Switzerland. It was first resorted to by Maryland, which in 1825 referred to the voters of each county the question of establishing free primary schools, the law to become operative only in those counties in which a majority

of the votes cast on the question were in the affirmative. Pennsylvania established a school-district referendum on the same subject in 1836, and in 1849 New York also made the subject a referendum issue. Meanwhile, Virginia in 1837 and Pennsylvania in 1842 provided for submission to local referendum of questions of local public subscriptions to internal improvements. From these beginnings the local or municipal referendum has grown into a common American custom, and the local initiative has kept pace with it. To quote again from Dr. Oberholtzer's excellent historical work, "both have been developing side by side until they have become familiar to us by general usage in all but every State in the great American Republic."

Among the local questions which it has long been customary in the United States to submit to local referendum either with or without the aid of the initiative, we find civil service regulations and minority representation, as well as the care of the poor, highway control, the subdivision of counties, and the organization of townships. A very general subject of local referendum is the loaning of public credit, and another is the expenditure of public money. One of the oldest is the question of public subscriptions to private enterprises, and among the newest are the adoption of voting machines and the question of granting public-utility franchises. In sheep-raising sections regulations for compensation for sheep killed by dogs have been made a subject of referendum. Out of the patriotism of the Civil War period have come local referendums on erecting soldiers' manuments at public expense, and in Ohio the erection of local monuments to the memory of "Mad" Anthony Wayne were by general law long ago made a subject of local referendum. In cities we have had referendums on the question of selling beer on Sunday. And is not the local-option liquor referendum familiar everywhere? The submission of city charters to referendum has come to be well nigh regarded as a cherished right, while such questions as levying taxes for special purposes, exempting industrial enterprises, and removing county seats have long been referendum subjects of general recognition as such. Like the man who had been reading prose all his life without knowing it, we have habitually, even if

Local Option.

unawares, been using the Initiative and the Referendum ever since Jackson's time.

Who shall say, then, that South Dakota, the first of our States to adopt the general Initiative and Referendum, imported them from Europe? Even if their particular form and scope were borrowed from Switzerland, where they had been in actual and satisfactory operation, who can deny that the idea was absolutely American? We have seen that it is an established principle of American jurisprudence as well as American polity to consider that all legislative power inheres in the people; that it remains with them unless they delegate it by constitutional provision; and that it returns to them if by constitutional amendment they revoke the delegated authority. Now, the people of South Dakota did nothing more than to revoke, constitutionally, the legislative authority they had previously delegated. But when that was done, the Initiative and the Referendum, as inherent powers of the people, were *ipso facto* revived. The people of South Dakota did not import a Swiss invention; they resumed an American power.

The South Dakota Experiment.

Their Constitution of 1889 having delegated the legislative power of the people to a senate and house of representatives, their amendment of 1898 so altered this delegation of power as expressly to reserve thereafter to themselves, first, the right, upon petition signed by a percentage of the voters, to propose measures which the legislature must enact and submit to popular vote for final approval, and, second, the requirement that by like petition any laws the legislature might enact of its own motion should be submitted to popular vote before going into effect—emergency laws alone excepted. The same reservations of popular sovereignty in law-making were applied by this constitutional amendment to municipalities with reference to municipal bodies and municipal questions, as to the State with reference to the legislature and State questions. Laws in execution of this constitutional reform in South Dakota were enacted in 1899, but the reform has never been used directly in any notable instance. It has, however, headed off much corrupt legislation, the mere threat of resorting to it having proved effective.

In Utah the South Dakota amendment was adopted in 1900, but no legislation to carry it into effect has yet been enacted. A similar amendment adopted in Nevada appears also to be a dead letter.

Oregon's Experiment.

But in Oregon the amendment has not only been adopted as in the other three States, and a law in execution been enacted as in South Dakota, but the Supreme Court of the State has given it judicial sanction, and the people are utilizing it vigorously and intelligently for its intended purpose. Although the reform was first adopted in South Dakota and has been effective in heading off corrupt legislation there, Oregon is the first State actually to utilize it at the polls. A direct primary and a local option liquor law, both under the Initiative, were adopted at the election of 1904; and at the municipal election of 1905 in Portland seven charter amendments were voted on, five of which carried and two were lost. Other questions are now pending in the State—an appropriation bill, an anti-pass bill, and five Constitutional amendments, all of which are to be voted on in June. One of the proposed amendments, presented on Initiative by the Equal Suffrage Association, provides for voting by women on an equality with men.

Progress of the Movement.

The further progress of the American movement in behalf of the comprehensive Initiative and Referendum is too obvious to need particularization. At any rate the most modest attempt at particularization would far transcend the limits of this paper. Perhaps, however, before passing to another phase of the general subject I should note the fact that the people of Montana will vote next Fall on a constitutional amendment like that of South Dakota. It is to be added, moreover, that the right to the Initiative and the Referendum for municipal purposes but without further limitation as to subject than that the questions shall be of local concern, has been conferred upon other municipalities than those of the four initiative and referendum States. Among these are the cities and counties of California, the municipal subdivisions of Nebraska, the capital city of Colorado, and the counties of Iowa.

For the sake of distinction the phase of the general subject which I have thus far considered may be described as the mandatory. It relates, that is to say, to initiatives and referendums at which a favorable vote gives legal vitality to the proposition voted on. But out of the movement for direct legislation of the mandatory sort, has arisen a movement for advisory methods.

The Advisory Referendum.

The advisory referendum is usually regulated by parliamentary rules of procedure. The custom appears to have originated in Winnetka, a Lake Michigan village of Illinois north of Chicago. The village council had before it some years ago an ordinance granting a private franchise for supplying gas. Against this ordinance there was a public protest, and upon the suggestion of the late Henry D. Lloyd, who led the opposition, the council resolved to submit the question to an advisory vote of the people and abide the result. This vote being taken, the ordinance was overwhelmingly condemned, and out of that experience the citizens of Winnetka got a valuable lesson which they proceeded to profit by. At the next election they agreed to vote only for those candidates who would pledge themselves if elected to refer all important measures to the voters and to vote in council in accordance with their instructions. The nominees thus pledged were elected, and what was then an innovation in Winnetka became an institution.

The Winnetka System.

Acting upon this hint, Mr. George H. Shibley, of Washington, has for several years been engaged in popularizing the Winnetka system and adapting it, not only to municipal but to state and national uses. Mr. Shibley's method contemplates the adoption by legislative bodies of a rule of procedure relative to all legislation of a specified character. Pursuant to this rule, action by the body on any of the measures specified, is, after second reading, suspended for a convenient length of time, during which the filing of a petition for submission to referendum vote operates to postpone third reading until the referendum vote has been taken. If the referendum vote be favorable, the members of the legislative body are obligated by their rule, reinforced by their election pledges, to proceed to third reading and pass the measure; if the referen-

dum vote be unfavorable, the measure is lost. This system in substance has been adopted, I am informed, by several municipal bodies, including the city council of Detroit.

This type of advisory referendum, which may be distinguished as the voluntary or non-legal form, has been supplemented by a legalized form which was introduced in 1901 by the State of Illinois. The bill for the latter was drawn by Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, and carried through the legislature of Illinois by Mr. Clayton E. Crafts, a member of the lower house from Chicago. As originally presented the Craft's bill allowed the submission to popular vote of any question of public policy when petitioned for by 10 per cent. of the voters within the territory to which the question applied. Inasmuch as the referendum thus provided for was to be only advisory, the bill was regarded by the politicians and corporations as harmless, and only from an excess of caution did the legislature raise the percentage to 25 per cent. for municipalities. But this gun that didn't seem to be loaded, has gone off several times with important results.

No State has yet followed the lead of Illinois in adopting an advisory referendum law, although the lower house in Massahusetts has recently passed a bill which is now pending in the Senate. But the city of Buffalo applies the same principle under the "general welfare" clause of the city charter. By ordinance the council provides that upon a five per cent. petition any question of local public policy shall be submitted to the voters for the purpose of obtaining their opinion, and under the provisions of this ordinance important advisory referendums have been had in Buffalo.

Interesting, however, and even important as are these experiments with the advisory referendum, it is after all the mandatory referendum with which we are chiefly concerned. For the question at issue is between representative legislation unrestricted save by constitutions, and direct popular legislation upon popular demand. If representatives yield to advisory popular votes, their doing so is only voluntary; whereas mandatory initiatives and referendums have the effect of a command. When these are invoked they place the legislative representative in the position not of a noble who may oblige, but of a servant who must obey.

The Mandatory Referendum.

To such a mandate directly from the people there are of course vociferous if not profound objections. Some are merely special pleas for special interests; but others are genuine, arising in some instances from sincere hostility to and in others from sincere distrust of popular government. With these objections I shall not attempt to deal *seriatim*. Except as they may be refuted by the facts I have cited and my affirmative argument, they must be accorded such validity as upon the surface they may appear to have. The essential issue, as it seems to me, is one of people's rule or bosses' rule, and to that issue broadly I invite your attention.

Is it not obvious that unless the people rule freely, with the least possible obstruction and friction consistent with good order and true expression, their rule will wane and the rule of bosses strengthen? And is it not equally true that representative legislation with no proper initiative or veto, does operate to obstruct the people's rule by making public opinion more or less inarticulate and consequently impotent? It seems to me that the obstruction and the friction thereby interposed to people's rule, make the coming of the boss as certain as fate. This sinister lesson may be learned from the evolution of the boss in American politics. With legislators empowered to choose between the people's will and their own, people's rule has given way to party rule, party rule to caucus rule, caucus rule to ring rule, and ring rule to boss rule. The source of the boss's power, both the old time political boss and the later corporation type, is the system which enables legislative representatives to represent the boss, whose puppets they become, instead of the people, whose agents they are.

Usefulness of Representative Government.

Yet the usefulness of representative government I cordially concede. For purposes of administration, representatives are absolutely necessary; and for purposes of legislation they have functions of a high order. But the functions of the legislator are as truly to execute the people's will in their sphere as are those of the administrative official in his. The legislative function in a republic consists in adjusting details and forms in execution of popular demands as to principles and policies. It is

true that these demands may be inferred by legislatures; and they are rightly inferred if, having a referendum veto, the people do not exercise it. But the legislative function in a republic does not extend to the point of dominion over the people. Legislatures should be servants and not masters.

While it is true that republics may be representative, the people speaking not directly but through legislative agents to whom they have delegated with certain restrictions the legislative power that belongs to themselves, it is also true that they may be democratic, reserving to themselves final power over all legislation—to order, to veto, and to revoke. These two types of the republican form of government are expressly recognized by the first article of the Swiss Constitution, in which, to quote the exact language, cantons are assured "the exercise of political rights according to republican forms, representative or democratic." Our own Federal Constitution guarantees "to every State in this Union a republican form of government," but no express discrimination is made as in the Swiss Constitution. The intention, however, was clearly in the minds of the fathers of our Republic. When they declared for republicanism they had no thought of opposing democracy. The contrast they sought to make was between the republican and the monarchical form, not between the representative and the democratic method. All of them feared the encroachments of absolutism; few of them feared the evolution of democracy. One of the greatest among them all, a man who probably contributed more than any other to the acceptance of the Constitution by the people, was James Madison; and in No. 39 of the Federalist he wrote of the republican form as "a government which derives all its power directly or indirectly from the great body of the people."

Democratic Republicanism.

The whole question of representative in contradistinction to democratic republicanism, in the American sense at any rate, may be reduced to one proposition: representation which does not tend toward democracy is not truly republican. There is a radical difference between representation of the people and abdication by the people. The true American spirit in this respect was expressed by a Swiss democrat, Felix Diog, when in the constitu-

tional assembly of the Canton of St. Gall in 1845, he said: "The people are sovereign. The people, and the people only, should exercise supreme power. Their will should be law. Sovereignty cannot be delegated. A sovereign who acts only through delegates may be said to have abdicated."

Is it objected that the people are not intelligent enough to be trusted with this supervisory power? Or is it argued that they would be apathetic, because in American experience the voting on candidates is larger than on questions of public policy? These objections nullify each other. The argument that the people are apathetic takes into consideration only the unintelligent who neglect to vote, ignoring the public spirit of the intelligent who do vote. Those who do vote are not apathetic; they prove it by voting. Neither are they unintelligent, except by the frail test that he who is with us is intelligent and he who is against us is not. What, then, does the apathy argument lead to but the conclusion that the initiative and the referendum would operate automatically to disfranchise the unintelligent?

But that would be an ideal system for making intelligence the condition of suffrage. That the suffrage ought to be limited to the intelligent may be granted. But that any class of citizens should disfranchise others by labelling them "unintelligent" is repugnant to republicanism, whether the republicanism be representative or democratic. Each citizen should be his own disfranchiser. He should be his own judge of his own intelligence at each election as to each question of public policy on which a difference of opinion is sufficiently pronounced to call for a show of hands. And this self-judgment is what the Initiative and the Referendum would demand of all citizens.

Means of Increasing Civic Intelligence.

Nor should we overlook in the same connection the influence of the Initiative and the Referendum in promoting and extending civic intelligence. For it is civic intelligence, not mere business intelligence, that good government needs. The kind of intelligence that is developed by the principles of "cent. per cent." and the experiences of "the merry chase for elusive dollars," may be competent to deal with questions of private policy, but it is not the best kind for determining questions of public policy.

Only active participation in public affairs, with a sense of personal responsibility, can develop this civic intelligence; and under the Initiative and the Referendum that participation would be open to every citizen. If there is a deficiency of civic intelligence now, who can deny without better tests than we have yet had, that it may be due to that abuse of our representative system which transfers the voter's responsibility to his legislative representatives, and tends to transmute his natural and wholesome interest in questions of public policy into a morbid interest in the mere personality of candidates? A degree of interest in the personality of candidates is indeed natural and wholesome; but the custom of investing them when elected with full legislative power disturbs the civic equilibrium. Considerations relating to person, party or class, confused with an inter-mixture of public questions, tend to distract the voter when he has to choose between one candidate for irresponsible legislative power and another. Not infrequently, therefore, he votes for the candidate who will misrepresent him on some questions, because he prefers that candidate for personal or party reasons, or as his representative on other questions, or it may be for his efficiency in the business details of public life. This would not occur if the voter were able when voting for the candidate of his choice to instruct or overrule that candidate by mandatory initiative or referendum on questions of public policy regarding which they disagree. Neither would the reverse of this any longer occur. It not infrequently happens now, that voters prefer a bad representative who will represent them truly on a dominant issue, to a good one who opposes them on that issue. And shall we condemn voters for making such a choice of evils, when we offer them only the alternative of voting for a bad candidate or a bad policy?

Not only would the Initiative and the Referendum tend to enhance the civic intelligence of all citizens—even those citizens of the slums whose civic intelligence is almost nil, and those infinitely more dangerous citizens of the business world whose civic intelligence is hardly better than a mere reflection of their own business interests,—not only would all civic intelligence improve in this clash of mind with mind in rendering direct and responsible judgment on questions of public policy, but the fidelity of public

servants would be vastly improved. For is it not true that the more directly we bring governmental machinery within the influence of public opinion the better the government tends to become? Such at any rate seems to me to be the impressive lesson of all political experience.

The People Rule.

That every government springs from the people is no speculative theory. It is an observed fact. No matter what may be the forms of government, the people rule everywhere. But if they are so far removed from the machinery of government that they can enforce their rule only by revolution, their governing agents become despotic and corrupt. And to the degree that they are so removed, to that degree is despotism and corruption engendered. Our question, then, is not whether the people shall rule, for in the last analysis they do rule; it is whether they shall rule with a minimum of friction or with a maximum of obstruction—whether their governments shall respond to their will quickly and without disorder, or sluggishly and with culminating upheavals.

The Norwegian Application.

What a glorious response to this question was that of Norway and Sweden. Had the people's representatives in those countries decided the dispute, a devastating war might have resulted with its aftermath of international hatred. But when the people of Norway were allowed to decide directly through referendum, peace was assured, and international friendship followed. Always and everywhere the principle works with similar effect. The greatest advances in government are where political forms make government sensitive to the popular will.

In the United States, for instance, the popular will sways government as it does not and cannot in Russia. The people of the United States live under political forms that admit at frequent intervals of expressions of their opinion. These forms for the most part, are, indeed, crude and defective; but for ascertaining and executing the people's will, Russia has no forms at all. Consequently, although the people of Russia do govern, in the sense that Russia is what her inhabitants allow her to be, yet the obstacles in the way of their action have been such as to make their influence upon government so remote that it could be ex-

erted for progress only through conspiracies and revolutions. Government in the United States is, therefore, more truly than in Russia, government by the people. But in this respect American government yields to British government. The "responsible system" dominant in Great Britain and her autonomous colonies, under which important questions are promptly though imperfectly referred to the people, and an administration in comparative harmony with the people's verdict comes into power as soon as that verdict is rendered, puts the British government more directly under popular control than any other great government on the globe.

Democratic Forms.

Besides the direct effect of democratic forms in strengthening popular checks upon governing agencies, there is a secondary effect which I have already mentioned. It is of even greater importance considered by itself, than the direct effect. This is the tendency of democratic forms to vitalize the civic spirit of the people. The more democratic the forms, the more general and vital will civic spirit become. If it is true that a people make their government —and as a primary conception it is true—then it is no less true that by reaction their government helps to mold their civic character. Democratic forms of government tend to make the spirit of the people democratic; despotic forms tend to make the spirit of the people disorderly.

American Civic Spirit.

For examples we need go no farther than to the countries already mentioned. In Russia until the recent terrific disorders, there was no orderly civic spirit; individual exceptions did not weaken the rule. Nor was there any civic intelligence except the fantastic or the bookish. But in the United States there is civic spirit and there is civic intelligence. Our democratic inheritance from the free constitutions of old New England and the free thought of old Virginia still vitalizes American citizenship. Yet it must be conceded that in old England, whence our colonial democracy came, in "little England" which lighted the torch of liberty long before Magna Charta and has never allowed its blaze to die wholly down, in the England which to-day gives the world an example of representative government responsible immediately

and directly to the people,—it must be conceded that to that England (despite its imperialistic reactions, its pasteboard throne, and its tinsel crown), the civic spirit and the intelligence of the people are on the whole superior to those of our own fellow-citizens. The American patriot who doubts may easily convince himself. Let him compare parliamentary debates with a debate in congress, speeches at English elections with speeches at ours, the contents of popular English newspapers with the contents of popular American newspapers, or the common talk on public questions of the common people of both countries,—let the thick and thin American patriot do this, and he will be satisfied. His patriotic pride may suffer, but his patriotic intelligence will be the gainer. Reacting upon the people, the more democratic forms of English government, as compared with those of the United States, have produced a superior and more general civic spirit and intelligence.

England's Democracy.

But England must yield in turn to Switzerland, where the forms of government are more democratic still. In Switzerland the people not only express their political judgment indirectly by voting for representatives, as in Great Britain and the United States; they express it also specifically whenever they wish to, by voting directly upon public measures. The preservation by the Swiss of their ancient democratic aspirations, symbolized in their legend of William Tell, is not to be accounted for, of course, by their present ballot method of direct legislation. But it certainly is to be accounted for in part by the cruder and more ancient mass-meeting methods, resembling the old New England town meeting on which the ballot method is an improvement. There can be little doubt that the progressive action and reaction of democratic sentiment upon government, giving to it more and more the democratic form, and of democratic forms upon public intelligence and sentiment, elevating and strengthening them, have had much to do with putting the Swiss as a people at the head of the nations for civic spirit and civic intelligence.

Let us take these lessons to ourselves. We cannot trust to our constitutional restraints upon legislation to improve the administration of our government and preserve the democracy of

our Republic. While constitutions may embalm the dead public opinion of the past, they do not express the living public opinion of the present. Judges may indeed read into them from time to time the public opinion of the present, or possibly the opinion of a mere party or class, but at the best this is not enough. With only a constitution and a bench of judges between public opinion and representative power, public opinion is inarticulate. What the people need in order to make it vital and expressive, is freedom to choose legislative servants without investing them with despotic authority. Such freedom they would have were their sovereign powers over legislation restored. They could then instruct their legislatures on questions of public policy with instructions that must be obeyed.

Lessons for America.

This restoration can be accomplished through the Initiative and the Referendum. Shall it be done? We all appeal to public opinion as the court of last resort. The Initiative and the Referendum would make this court articulate. It is now only a speechless fetish, whose silent or incoherent mandates are interpreted by an interested political priesthood. Let us restore to public opinion the powers of speech of which it has been deprived. Let us allow public opinion to speak for itself and interpret its own commands. This would not abolish representative republicanism among us; it would perfect it. This would not be government by a mob; it would be government by an orderly democracy. This would not be a foreign innovation; it would be in the strictest sense an American evolution.

The Recall as a Measure of Control by the People.

By THOMAS A. DAVIS, Orange, New Jersey.

In the United States we have been for many years under the impression that all our municipalities, counties and states were governed by the people, through their duly elected or appointed representatives. Of late years this impression has been shattered, and we have been forced to the inevitable conclusion that while the people go through the formality of electing representatives, in whose hands the reins of government are intrusted, in many cases these representatives, shortly after assuming the duties of office forget that they are responsible to the people whom they are supposed to represent and yield to corrupting influences and betray their trusts with far more ease than can be credited.

Ante-Election Promises.

Before election candidates as a usual thing, are profuse with promises, but it is remarkable how quickly after being elected these promises are forgotten and how the wishes of the people are thrown to the winds. Instead of conducting municipal, county and state governments for the people, in many cases we are forced to the conclusion that the members of these public bodies elected by the people even sit there as the paid representatives of private interests, while the public treasury is looked upon as the proper thing to be robbed and plundered.

As a usual thing candidates are elected or appointed to public office for terms ranging from one to five years. After they have been inducted into the office, no matter how shameful or degrading their conduct may be, there is not at the present time any adequate manner in which the public can call to account an erring public servant. The public servant becomes the public

master for the balance of his term, and in many cases we have seen these acts of a man committed during his term forgotten when his term is about to expire, and the person re-elected to the office with perhaps an increased majority. Of course such an occurrence as this is due to the apathy and indifference of the electors, and so long as they are willing to remain in that state, they probably get about as good government as they deserve.

Principal and Agent.

If a man employs an agent for a term of years by contract, and that agent betrays his principal, the principal may terminate the contract and get rid of the faithless one. Office holders stand in the same position to the public as the agent does to the principal. They are simply the instruments for carrying on the business of the public, and if they are faithless in performing their duties the law should provide adequate means for getting rid of them and putting others in their places.

This thought no doubt has been in the minds of people for a long time, but it was not until such a method of procedure, which has been designated the Recall, was put into effect in Los Angeles, California,* that this section of the country came to the conclusion that their theories had materialized in the far west, and an agitation has been accordingly started to consider the advisability of such a law in New Jersey.

The Recall Defined.

The Recall is a method by which it is possible for the public to free itself from incompetent and objectionable officials. As outlined in the Los Angeles statute the law applies to elective officers. If the public wishes to vacate the office of an objectionable official, a petition must be signed by twenty-five per cent. of the entire vote for all candidates for that office, demanding the election of a successor to the officer sought to be removed. The petition must state the grounds upon which the removal is sought. The signers must put their addresses after their names and the whole petition shall be verified by the oath of at least one person who saw all of the others sign.

The petition, thus verified, is filed with the city clerk, who

* See paper of Charles D. Willard on Los Angeles in the New York volume of Proceedings for further reference to the Recall.—Editor.

within ten days after filing examines it for the purpose of ascertaining if the necessary number have signed, and issues a certificate as to his finding. If he finds the petition insufficient, it may be amended in ten days after the issuance of his certificate. If still insufficient after such amendment, it is returned to the petitioners without prejudice against the filing of another petition. If the petition is found by the clerk to be sufficient, he issues his certificate to the municipal governing body to that effect.

The governing body shall then order an election to be held within not less than thirty days and not more than forty days from the date of the certificate. The election shall be conducted as other elections are conducted. The Los Angeles statute provides that the person sought to be removed may be a candidate to succeed himself, unless he requests otherwise in writing, and unless he so requests the clerk puts his name on the ticket as a candidate. If some candidate other than the incumbent receives the highest number of votes he shall be elected and serve for the unexpired time of the person complained against, who shall be removed. If the incumbent receives the highest number of votes he shall continue in his office.

These, briefly, are the provisions of what is designated as the Recall, and are a part of the statute law governing the City of Los Angeles.

In the consideration of it here the first question naturally would be, Do we need it? It would appear to me to be unnecessary to go into any extended argument to convince all present and all who are not present that if the Recall will do what the provisions that I have stated allege, then we undoubtedly need it and need it very badly, and have needed it for a great many years. Probably there are very few here present who have followed municipal, county and State affairs in New Jersey who do not now conclude that had we the Recall in New Jersey in years gone by, and if things then happened that have happened, the law would certainly have had to work overtime. Without particularizing instances, we can recall to our minds cases within our knowledge where the people of our own neighborhoods would have wel-

Do We Need the Recall?

comed it, in order to rid themselves of officials not only incompetent, but whom we believe to have yielded to the corrupting influence of money.

Is It Fair?

The next question that might be asked is, Is Recall fair to official and people? In Los Angeles twenty-five per cent. of the entire vote for an office is required to be signed to a petition before the machinery of Recall can be set in operation. Considering the fact that for an ordinary office there may be from three to six candidates, this percentage would certainly seem to be large enough to remove the suspicion of unfairness, because it is far easier to get a man to sign a petition for a person than it is to sign one against a person. Were the Recall adopted in New Jersey the percentage might not be fixed at twenty-five per cent.; it might be more or it might be less. So far as the incumbent is concerned, after the petition is filed against him he still has the opportunity under the method of procedure to vindicate himself, and if he makes no move at all the law orders him put upon the ticket as a candidate for re-election. It seems, therefore, that the provisions are equitable in attempting to take care of both accused and accuser.

Is It Liable to Abuse?

Query might be made, Is it not likely that the right to petition might be abused and petitions filed without just cause? I think we can safely say there would be no danger of abuse of the right to petition. The experience of those familiar with municipal bodies is, that even now the people of a neighborhood may tolerate an abuse of their rights for a considerable time before petitioning their local governing bodies for a correction of the abuse. Again, if the percentage of the electors required to sign is made, for example, twenty-five per cent., it would be impossible to procure such a number of signers, unless the petition was based upon justice. Publicity and public opinion are the great influences in our country to-day, and when the movement to put into operation the machinery or Recall is begun, it must receive the approval of the people or it will absolutely fail.

We have in the State of New Jersey to-day a law which permits a small number of taxpayers (twenty-five) to petition a Supreme ourt Justice for the appointment of a commissioner to

investigate municipal and county affairs. The number of signers required is so small that it might be easily abused, yet all we have to do is read the newspaper accounts of such investigations to be convinced that in every case where application was made and and a commissioner appointed, the investigation should have been made.

There is one provision of the Los Angeles plan which to my mind, should be enlarged upon, if the State of New Jersey is to adopt the plan of "recall." The Los Angeles plan apparently applies only to elective municipal officials. I can see no good reason, if we should ask for the enactment of a statute, why it should not be embodied in a general law and why the officials affected should not be municipal, county and state officials, both elective and appointive.

In the municipalities to-day there are very few officials elected outside of the mayor, the governing body, and the board of education. Practically all the other officials, such as assessors, tax commissioners, fire commissioners, police commissioners, boards of health, boards of assessment, and city officials are appointed either by the mayor or the governing body, while in the counties and state there are innumerable boards and officers that are not elected at all, but are appointed by an officer or a body, which is itself elected. It seems to me that the Recall should not stop as in Los Angeles at elctive officers, but all officers, boards or bodies, whether elective or appointive, should be amenable to the public and it should be within the power of the people to call them to task whenever their conduct justifies it.

The method of procedure outlined in the Los Angeles statute covers the point as to elective municipal officers. Of course, if we go beyond this and embrace municipal, county and state officials, elective and appointive, the *modus operandi* would have to be framed to suit the case.

Recall of Appointive Officers.

It is rather difficult to say, without discussion and consideration, what method of procedure should be adopted to bring the provisions of recall to bear upon an appointive officer. The Los Angeles provisions will not apply. This is a question that might well be discussed until a proper plan is adopted, if the suggestion appears

to be a proper one. It seems to me that in the case of an appointive officer the petition to be signed by a certain percentage or number of tax-payers should be presented to the appointing power in the shape of charges, and the appointing power should either place the accused on trial before itself upon the charges, or appoint a commission, outside of its own number, to hear the charges and conduct the trial. If the accused is found guilty that should terminate his right to hold the office, and if not guilty he should continue therein.

The Recall in New Jersey.

In the last session of the New Jersey Legislature, two bills prepared by a committee of the New Jersey Civic Federation were introduced, attempting to put the Recall into effect in the State of New Jersey. The bills were known as Senate Bills No. 169 and 170. They were referred to a committee, but were not enacted into laws. It was hardly expected that the bills would be enacted into laws at the session at which they were introduced, but the purpose of having them prepared and introduced was to attract the attention of the public, and induce discussion on the Recall principle. Several societies have already discussed the subject, and it is hoped that it will be widely discussed before another Legislature shall meet, at which time the passage of a recall law will be urged with the expectation that such a law will find its way into the statute books of the State of New Jersey.

A Plan for Separate Elections.

By FRANK H. JAMISON, Orange, New Jersey.

Since the passage of the acts abolishing spring elections and consolidating them with general elections, there has been general complaint that the independent voter was put to much greater difficulty than before in attempting to exercise his choice of men. From many quarters there has come a demand for the restoration of spring elections. Is this desirable, or is there not a better plan for securing the same result?

The New York Plan.

The principle that elections should be divided has been recognized in New York where the city election is held in a year in which the national election does not occur, but there are some defects in the law there which it is possible to overcome in New Jersey. The principal difficulty in solving the question here is that it would be necessary to amend the State constitution. But inasmuch as there is some question as to the status of the constitution between friends, it might be possible, were the attempt seriously made, to have a constitutional convention and the present ancient document revamped and brought up to date.

The general proposition which is here advanced was suggested to Governor Edward C. Stokes in East Orange on February 12, which was perhaps a very suitable day to take up any emancipation question, and at that time the Governor expressed himself as of the opinion that it was a better solution of the question than the restoration of spring elections. Since that time the plan has been considered by the Civics Club of the Oranges and a committee has been named, of which Senator Everett Colby, Thomas A. Davis, Frederick W. Kelsey, Isaac H. Blanchard and the writer are members, to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the enactment of needed legislation.

It would seem to be preferable to hold all elections in November because in certain sections of this State there is a large so-called commuter vote which it is difficult to get out in the spring. On a legal holiday, however, the commuters have no business to transact in New York, or Philadelphia, or the larger cities in New Jersey, and this vote would be polled. It might be more difficult to have it cast if there were only the municipal candidates to consider but it would not be so difficult as getting it out in March or April.

November Elections Preferred.

The proposition is to hold the election for governor at the same time that the presidential election takes place, which would make it occur in an even year, once in four years. In the even years when there is not a presdential election, State senators, assemblymen and county officers, such as sheriffs, registers of deeds and mortgages, county clerks, etc., should be chosen. Under this plan, the governor, State senators and county officers, would be chosen for four years. This would add one year to the term of the State offices and perhaps shorten the terms of some county offices and extend others.

In the odd years it is proposed to hold the municipal elections, also choosing county freeholders at the same time, as the freeholders represent wards and districts. This would make it necessary to fix the terms of municipal officers at four years. There is no reason why there should not be uniform terms for these offices. At the present time some mayors are chosen for two years' term, others for three. The terms of councilmen, township committeemen and memebers of school boards vary from one to three years. They could all be made for four years, which is none too long for a good man to stay in office, and if he incompetent or unworthy the Recall can be applied. In order that no municipality should be subjected to the possibility of having an entire new set of men in its governing body at one time the act could provide that at the first election held under its provisions one-half the candidates elected should be chosen for two years and the other half for four years.

A Four Years' Term.

By this plan we would still have an election every No-

vember, but the offices to be filled each year would be much fewer than at present and the voter would have a better opportunity of informing himself as to the fitness of the various candidates. The law should apply to every municipality and it would tend to simplify legislation as it would remove the necessity for the constant tinkering with municipal charters which is now so general. The spectacle of a Legislature frittering away its time patching up a law affecting Orange so that it shall not apply to Hoboken is not edifying, when there are so many larger questions which should receive attention.

The Police Question.

By Dr. EDWARD M. HARTWELL,
Secretary, Statistics Department, Boston.

In attempting to show that the police question demands more careful and thorough investigation than has been accorded it hitherto, I am reminded of the stereotyped reply of a certain old gentleman I knew of. When asked "How are things?" he was wont to shake his head impressively and ejaculate "It is a wicked world and I know it!" I feel convinced that the world is wicked, else so many good people would not be seeking to reform it; but I am so little acquainted with its concrete wickedness that I am unable to paint a very lurid or disquieting picture of that portion of the world which pertains to the police. Very likely my views of the question would be more pessimistic had my relations with the officers of the peace been more intimate.

It is my purpose to characterize certain general features of the police question rather than attempt to discuss it at length; inasmuch as I have had no call or opportunity to engage in the special study of the workings of the police department of any particular city. As I see it the police question is simply one of the multifarious questions relating to urban development and municipal government which remain unsolved partly, at least, for the lack of adequate data for reaching sound conclusions or framing effective measures. Although my interest in the police question is mainly of a platonic or impersonal nature, still it appeals to me somewhat strongly because I have to deal professionally with municipal statistics in their entirety. Police statistics constitute an important branch of judicial statistics; and it must be admitted that judicial statistics in this country are in an extremely crude and unsatisfactory condition. This to my mind constitutes a weighty reason for attempting to secure clearer

views and more comprehensive and accurate information concerning the work attempted by police courts and police officers.

All who read the newspapers with any care will admit that grave doubts have arisen in the public mind as to the honesty and efficiency of the administration of police affairs in the great cities of this country, more particularly in the city of New York. For more than ten years a large though variable degree of public interest has attached the New York police department by reason of the criticisms, investigations, and experimentation to which it has been subjected. Yet, the department continues to be a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence. Other American cities have instinctively looked to New York to lead the way in solving the police question, and, for the most part, have been satisfied to temporize in the matter of police reform, even when local sentiment has become aroused to the need of it.

The New York Situation.

The fleeting and disappointing results of New York's attempts to abate its police nuisance have tended to produce a widespread feeling that radical improvement of the police is impracticable at present. A vague yearning for better things doubtless exists in the public mind, but there is a conspicuous lack among leaders of public opinion of clear convictions as to the source and extent of existing evils, and as to the nature of the measures requisite to abolish or abate those evils.

I do not pretend to understand the local situation in New York, but as an onlooker interested in the manners and customs of cities and of the reformers of cities, I marvel at the loose, amateurish methods employed in developing and conducting the New York plan of campaign. There has been notable lack of scientific method in the plans and efforts of the accusers, the inevestigators and the governors of the police; and strange to say, the professional students and teachers of political science seem to have failed to urge the adoption of the comparative method of study and investigation. From the days of the Lexow Committee until now there has been a näive disregard, or obliviousness rather, of the experience of other cities than New York; although there is abundant evidence that there are cities in Christendom, not a few, that have well organized, well dis-

ciplined and well managed departments of police. If New York would only attack its police problem as intelligently as the National Board of Fire Underwriters has recently attacked the question of fire hazards and fire protection, in American cities, or as the National Civic Federation promises to attack the question of municipal ownership, a long step would be taken towards illuminating and settling this hitherto dark and baffling question, viz. what must American cities do to secure honest and effective police protection for life and property?

Need of Information.

One of the most crying needs at the present moment is precise and adequate information as to the results of police administration in our great cities. The literature and statistics bearing on this comparatively narrow subject are wofully meagre and unsatisfying. Any law library affords tomes on the police powers of the government; but if one seeks authentic, comparative data touching the organization, duties and actual work performed by the police departments of the principal cities of Great Britain or the United States, he must content himself with meagre and irrelevant results, at the cost of inordinate labor, in a practically neglected field. One finds stories about prisons and prisoners, and the simple annals of a particular department occasionally find a printer, as do the reminiscences of deposed or superannuated chiefs; but such literature is on the whole less informing than detective stories—it raises more questions than it answers.

English Sources.

Inasmuch as the root out of which our police system, like most of our municipal institutions, has developed is of British origin, one naturally looks to English sources for information as to the origin and history of the police institutions from which our own have sprung. Here again comprehensive treatment of our subject is hard to find. Pike's "History of Crime in England" deals incidentally but instructively with the more significant functions of the police establishment at various epochs. The best comprehensive work known to me, is "A History of Police in England" by Capt. W. L. Melville Lee, which bears the recent date of 1901. These books are suggestive and helpful so far as they go. The subject of police in its legal and constitutional relations, is well treated by Redlich and

Hirst in their monumental work on "Local Government in England."

After all, it is hardly surprising, that the institution of the police has not received more satisfactory treatment at the hands of students and writers. It is well to remember that the development of municipal institutions in England as we know them has taken place in recent times. Municipal government in England was both chaotic and corrupt prior to the passage of the Reform Law. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 signalized the first vigorous attempt of the British government to treat the question of local government by municipal corporations in a broad and effective way. As might be expected, it was otherwise on the continent of Europe. There appears to have been a general municipal code in the Scandinavian countries as early as the thirteenth century. For instance, the "By Love," i. e., the By-Laws or the Municipal Code of Bergen in Norway were established in the year 1275 or thereabouts, and other similar codes nearly as ancient have come down to us.

The Origin of Policemen.

Our modern policeman, not infrequently termed a constable or police constable, is derived from an extremely ancient functionary, namely, the reeve, the tithing man, the head borough, or the parish constable, as he was termed at various periods. At first he represented his tithing or township in the meeting of the hundred and the shire, being elected for that purpose by those who constituted the group to which he belonged. He was a representative officer with peace powers. Gradually his work became onerous as his functions became diversified and his responsibilities were increased; till finally it was quite usual for the duties of the constable to be performed by a deputy for the sake of casual fees for casual acts. There was also an ancient system of watch and ward in walled towns and boroughs. The night-watch more nearly than the constables resembled our police officers, although they did not give their entire time to their duties and were notoriously stupid and inefficient. Even in London the first constables paid to give all their time to their duties, did not appear upon the scene until the year 1753, and their number was small. Not till 1856 did the law provide for a uniform system of stipendary police throughout England and Wales.

For the first quarter of the nineteenth century the criminal classes of London were defiant and barely held in check, there being no general system adapted to modern conditions for the protection of the law-abiding either in respect to their persons or their property. This condition of things arose from the utter break-down of the ancient system of peace-officers along with other governmental machinery that had originally developed under rural and semi-barbarous conditions. The administrative chaos due to the incapacity and impotence of local authorities and the conflicting jurisdictions of petty constables, "thief-takers" the horse patrol, and other kinds of constable was such that merchants, travelers and householders were forced to combine and provide protection at their own expense against thieves, highwaymen and murderers. Finally, matters became so bad as to be unbearable even by conservative Londoners and a conservative government.

English Police Reform.

In 1829 Sir Robert Peel, after the report of a Parliamentary Commission that "it was absolutely necessary to devise some means to give greater security to persons and property," was enabled to establish a system of Metropolitan police under the immediate control of two commissioners appointed by and responsible to the Home Secretary. Peel's aim was to organize a central agency capable of taking entire charge of police affairs in every parish in London or near it; but he did not venture to include the city of London which to this day has retained jurisdiction over its constabulary. Nor would Parliament sanction the reduction of all classes of constables, watchmen and thief-takers to the control of the new office in Scotland Yard. But by 1839 it came about that within fifteen miles of Charing Cross there remained but two police forces, the Metropolitan and that of the City of London.

The introduction of system and responsible control led to immediate check, almost rout, of the criminal classes in London; so the provincial cities and the counties became the field of their operations. The Metropolitan Police furnished the new model for police reform, which ultimately spread throughout the country by stages which we need not take time to recount here. Even some American cities have attempted to profit by the police

reforms instituted by Peel. "Peeler" is, or was in my boyhood, a cant term for policeman in New England.

The history of the development of the British Police System illustrates and emphasizes the necessity of placing the control and administration of police affairs in the hands of capable men specially trained for their business. England has an efficient system of police, but is far from being a "Police State" in the sense that Prussia and France are Police states. The Home Secretary has no such powers as are exercised by the Minister of the Interior in a continental state. Laws for the police are made by Parliament and not by those who administer police affairs. County, borough and metropolitan police are all subject to inspection and a measure of supervision by the representatives of the Home Office, but as a rule police officials and police constables are not appointed by the Home Office or subject to removal by it. The local police are required to report to the Home Secretary in accordance with forms and rules prescribed by him. The Home Secretary may make suggestions, but he cannot give orders that such and such things shall be done so and so. The administrative control of the police departments of Glasgow and Birmingham, for instance, is lodged in a Watch Committee chosen by the Council from among its own members. Should it be reported to the Home Office that the borough or county police are improperly organized or fall short of certain standards of efficiency, the Home Office, which under ordinary conditions defrays, out of the national treasury, one-half of the sum required to pay and clothe the police, would withhold its grant. It is not within recent memory that any city has been found deficient and has lost its grant in aid for police maintenance. We have then, in England, a system of central control and supervision which makes for efficiency without intermeddling on the part of the central authority with the rights and duties of the local authorities.

So far as I am aware responsible, central control of local police departments has not been developed anywhere in this country in accordance with the English method. The police department of New York is directly responsible to the Mayor, though it is subject to arbitrary and more or less ill-considered interference

State Boards of Control.

by the Legislature at Albany. The cities of Baltimore and Boston have police boards appointed by the governors of their respective states. The Governor, of Massachusetts, after a proper trial, may remove a Boston police commissioner, for cause, but there is no State bureau or official who exercises powers of inspection or supervision over the Boston police department. If a reasonable system of central control on the part of the State over the police departments of cities could be devised, due regard being shown to local rights and susceptibilities, we might secure a larger measure of police efficiency than is possible under our present irresponsible and antiquated methods of procedure.

In this connection two hopeful experiments in the organization of State Constabulary may be noted. Texas has established a corps of Texas Rangers, who resemble in their organization and functions the mounted police in Canada, and within two years the State of Pennsylvania has established a force of mounted State constables who are responsible to the Governor of the State. This experiment appears to be largely due to the initiative of Governor Pennypacker, who has instituted this policy, partly with a view of cutting down expenses incident to the calling out of the militia to quell strike riots, and partly for the purpose of securing a more independent, vigorous and trustworthy body of men in times of emergency than were the old Coal and Iron Police so called. These experiments are most significant and encouraging. Is it too much to assume that any state or city that wills to have its police affairs vigorously conducted by capable and honest men, can find ways and means to secure them?

Pennsylvania Constabulary.

Avoidance or postponement of police reform in our larger cities cannot be indefinitely prolonged. The difficulties inherent in the police question, by reason of its magnitude and its intricacy, should be fully admitted and then accurately defined and weighed, to the end that appropriate and adequate measures may be devised for overcoming them. Pending the full awakening of public interest, the whole question should receive patient, consecutive and searching investigation—so that enlightened views and wise policies may prevail when an aroused public opinion

shall demand better laws, better methods and better men in the conduct of police affairs.

I submit that this subject should appeal peculiarly to the National Municipal League which has distinguished itself by the manner and method which it has employed in promoting the discussion of questions which it has made its own—municipal charters, for instance. What is needed is a preliminary survey of the actual situation in a few typical cities; then patient investigation; then a report on the facts with recommendations as to measures. Let the League arouse public opinion—and be prepared to furnish information and arguments for use wherever they may be needed—and it will be no very difficult matter to enlist men for field operations in one or many cities, in short, wherever an aggressive campaign can hopefully be waged.

To develope such a plan of campaign will require time and zeal as well as money. A hopeful beginning would be made if you could endow investigation by a small committee or even by one man who should become saturated with knowledge of the subject and devoured by interest in it. Having surveyed and preempted the field it would be a comparatively easy matter to colonize and cultivate it. But I am clear in my conviction that the thing most needed, at this juncture, is a comprehensive, careful sustained study of the essential facts, by impartial and trained investigators. So I bring the matter before you in this way that you may think about it.

Sanity in Civic Reform.

By EDWARD K. SUMERWELL, Esq., East Orange, New Jersey.

Secretary of the New Jersey State Civic Federation.

In considering reform movements we are struck at once by the difference between theory and experience. This distinction must be kept ever in mind and given its due significance if we are to attain the best results. Let us, then, seek its application to the work of civic reform, which is the object of the National Municipal League, under whose auspices we meet, as well as of the New Jersey State Civic Federation and similar bodies here represented.

Reform Idealistic.

Reform in its true sense and ultimate essence is inevitably idealistic. Once started on its beneficent way, there is no logical reason why it should stop short of the complete realization of its aims. In theory, wherever reform is needed at all, it cannot come too soon, last too long, or relax its highest activities until absolute perfection is achieved—or, in other words, until the millennium has arrived.

In practice, however, it may be that a less strenuous rule should obtain, or, at least, that the austerities of idealistic reform should be somewhat tempered in their adaptation to existing conditions. We are but weak, frail mortals, after all—reformers included—and, in seeking the greatest good of the greatest number, we may well take note of the means and material at disposal and, without undue departure from the strict line of duty, strive to so use those means as to lead to the best and surest practical results. My plea, to-day, therefore is for "Sanity in the Conduct of Civic Reform Movements."

For many years in this country, the appeal of the reformer

has been heard—but, in the main, as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Not until very recently has he been taken at all seriously. By the unthinking he has been classed with the demagogues and marplots who are endured as among the necessary evils of a free country where every one may speak, act and vote as he chooses.

The average citizen has generally accepted the city government provided for to-day, taking no thought for the morrow—on the theory doubtless, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." This condition of apathy arises from a variety of causes which have been the subject of careful study by the National Municipal League, and which I shall not now attempt to analyze. Suffice it to say, at this time, that a proper understanding of these causes underlies any rational discussion of the movements designed to improve the situation resulting from them.

The Need of Organization.

Civic reform cannot succeed without organization of the highest and most effective type. Government voices the demands and aspirations of organized society. Under our theory of government, the majority rules and, presumably, this rule is beneficent, as we assume that on the whole we are a moral, intelligent, self-respecting people. If then our government is bad, it would seem to be, not because the majority are bad, but because a bad minority has temporarily seized the reins of power. In point of fact, this is precisely the condition of affairs which gives rise to civic reforms and compels their activities.

In coping with this condition, the individual, as such, is almost powerless. However clear his conceptions or high his ideals, alone and unaided he can do little or nothing. If in a given city it is publicly noticed that reform is really needed, it is because things political have there come to such a pass that even the apathetic average citizen is disturbed. Needless to say that long before this crisis has been reached, a few zealous spirits have been burning with indignation, predicting the direst disaster, and likely planning a complete change as the only hope of the community. This situation means, not that one man is abusing his power, but that many are actively or passively assisting, and this implies an efficient organization of the malevolent type.

Against this an equally well equipped organization of the beneficent type can alone hope to prevail. Hence it is necessary that the zealous few ally with themselves the apathetic many and make common cause against the common enemy. How to do this is, after all, the real problem of civic reform.

In dealing with governmental questions, we must keep in mind the underlying fact that back of all government are the individual citizens for whose well-being government is instituted and maintained. They must be dealt with in the mass, to be sure, but the mass is made up of separate units—each a living entity having the moving impulses, the ambitions, the limitations and the frailities of us all. In this view human nature becomes at once a vital factor in the problem, and I submit that we shall make headway more rapidly and satisfactorily, if we treat the subject from this view-point.

Human Nature a Factor.

Reformers have no monopoly of virtue. Assuming that we mean well and are always in the right, it does not follow that all others are wrong and ill-disposed. Nominally, at least, the public chooses its servants and is responsible for the exercise of its judgment. In many cases, we have found that even the most ardent reformers may err in their judgment and fall short of perfection, so we see that here as elsewhere tact, tolerance, moderation, experience and real ability—in fine, all the qualities of true leadership—are indispensable.

Human nature is the same in or out of office. We love honors and commendation, but no one welcomes detraction or abuse. Officeholders, occupying positions of trust and responsibility, readily recognize in themselves "the very elect," and their friends are quite willing to bask in the sunshine of their favor, and inflate their vanity by unstinted adulation. To such, the tug of hostile criticism must be galling indeed, and we need not wonder that they resent it. It must be conceded too, that even when under fire, they are entitled to the benefit of the usual presumption of innocence. Nor is it fair to indulge in sweeping general charges. Where reform in city government is needed, a general plan or policy should first be mapped out, adapted to the local conditions, and working along well-defined lines to definite ends. If then, in the progress of this general plan, it becomes necessary to

criticise or condemn individuals, the charges should be specific and all personalities should be seduously avoided, except in so far as they may be requisite to the proper disposition of the case in hand. Let no time be wasted in personal bickerings, when larger public interests must meanwhile suffer thereby. Reformers are prone to scatter their energies, leaving the main road to trace out the devious windings in the careers of divers and sundry individuals, instead of pressing steadily forward along the broad highway to greater and more enduring results.

In this connection it may be of interest to note what has been done along these lines in our own State of New Jersey—not that we lay claim to any special merit in methods or superior value in results, but merely because our work illustrates the point I wish to make. Let us take, for example, the case of residents in the Oranges, well known everywhere as suburban towns within an hour's travel of New York City, and therefore inhabited in large part by New York business and professional men.

The Situation in the Oranges.

Our situation is unique. We reside in one state and do business in another, and as a rule know very little about either. We are at the edge of each state and even those of our citizens who travel for business or pleasure have slight occasion to visit the capital of either state or come into contact with our fellow-citizens residing in other sections of them. In addition, we have, of course, the local business men, whose interests center entirely at home. They usually know each other better and are in closer touch with local affairs than is possible in the case of the commuting element. The result is that they easily secure control of local politics. An unfortunate incident of this is that in most towns and cities of the type under consideration, mutual jealousies are thus engendered and a form of class spirit springs up which adds to the difficulty in dealing with public questions in a rational way.

As may be readily imagined, this is fruitful soil for the trained political leaders in the few large cities of our State, who have gradually built up an organization of tremendous power. Aided by our archaic state constitution, they have controlled the elections in most cases year after year. With the growth of our corporation activities, they have allied with themselves the great

captains of industry and finance, who are only too glad to join in the exploitation of our valuable franchises. Flattered by their attentions and willing to share in their prosperity, many of the local residents have come into affiliation with them, thus completing the political machine in all its working parts.

It is manifest that such a machine is incapable of serving the public. It has too many special interests to conserve. Yet owing to the conditions already adverted to, the efforts of the zealous few to arouse the public failed until, in the process of evolution, forms of organization among our citizens were developed. which seem adapted to the work in hand. Briefly, these consist of local clubs and societies, non-partisan in their character and usually composed of the conservative elements in the community, who are averse to political activities of any kind, except as made necessary as a means of civic betterment and self-preservation. In the Oranges, these organizations include, among others, the New England Society and the Civics Club of Orange, in which all matters of general as well as local interest are discussed, and the Citizens' Union of East Orange, which takes cognizance almost entirely of local affairs. These clubs and societies are banded together through the medium of the New Jersey State Civic Federation, which is designed to enable these various organizations throughout the state to co-ordinate their forces in aid of movements of such scope and importance as to require combined efforts through the legislature or otherwise. The State Civil Service Reform Association is also an active agency for good, working in co-operation with the National Civil Service Reform League.

The State Civic Federation.

Some idea of the usefulness of these organizations may be gleaned from a brief survey of their recent work. In his latest annual report, the Secretary of the New England Society of Orange, referring to the various subjects acted upon by the Society during the past year, adds the following significant comment:

"It will be seen from this cursory review that the topics have been of vital interest to the community and to the State at large. The Society is to be congratulated upon taking steps that will eventually lead to great reforms in municipal conditions in this

State. The credit certainly belongs to this Society for taking a decisive stand for equal taxation and the limiting of public franchises, and the Committee in charge of these subjects deserves commendation for the vigorous manner in which the campaign was conducted. The results show that there is a place in every intelligent community for an organization similar to this one, and that by united effort public opinion can be moulded to bring about better civic conditions than have existed in the past."

The Civics Club of Orange.

The Civics Club of Orange has given its attention during the past year to the following questions, among others, namely:

1. Franchise grants to public service corporations.
2. Track elevation or depression through the Oranges.
3. Street Closing and Grade Crossings.
4. Sewage Disposal.
5. New Water Supply, and a Municipal Electric Light Plant for Orange.

The State Civic Federation is at present engaged upon five specific state issues, namely:

1. Limited Franchises.
2. Equal Taxation.
3. Franchise Taxation.
4. The Direct Election of United States Senators.
5. The Morris Canal Abandonment.

The East Orange Citizens' Union.

The Citizens' Union of East Orange was one of the pioneers in the great movement which has done so much for the entire State of New Jersey and has to its credit a record of achievement of which all the friends of civic reform everywhere may be justly proud. For many years our city government in East Orange was merely a cog in the county, state and national political machine. The great majority of our citizens are of the same political faith, and for the reasons already mentioned, took only a slight and superficial interest in the conduct of our local affairs. The result was a deterioration in the character of our city government, and the dominance of corporate influences, especially with respect to the disposition of our public service franchises. Finding all efforts within the party to be fruitless, many of our

best citizens spontaneously came together in the organization of a non-partisan local body, modeled closely upon the lines of the Citizens' Union of New York. Taking as its slogan "non-partisanship in the management of our local affairs," we have elected to public office representative citizens of the highest stamp, who have set for us new standards of public service. Through our officers and committees, in our public meetings and through the press, we have given them our support in carrying forward the important reforms undertaken by them, and have succeeded in arousing a general interest in the work of civic reform all over the state. We hold that the conduct of our local affairs should be entirely freed from the control of county and state political managers. While each of our members is urged to give his loyal support to the platform of his own political party on the great issues of the day, we hold ourselves at liberty to unite with all our neighbors, regardless of creed or party affiliation, in the selection of the best men to serve us as the city's business agents. While we have not hesitated to condemn upon occasion, we have not withheld commendation where we deemed it to be deserved and have honestly tried to do our share in making our city a better and more desirable place to live in. The results speak for themselves, and it has been especially gratifying to us that our counsel and co-operation have often been invited in aid of similar movements in other communities throughout the state.

Now the very existence of all these organizations, working so zealously upon so many varied interests, yet all directed to one common end—civic betterment—implies something wrong in the body politic. It is inconceivable that so many busy men and women would take so much time and trouble and incur so much expense in the maintenance of these organizations, if there were not the positive need of such corrective influences. It must be evident too, that the order of things which they oppose is very strongly entrenched. It is idle, therefore, to expect that these powerful influences, operating to the disadvantage of the community, can be counteracted, save by the use of the soundest and most practical means in opposition.

Now, in devising and carrying out plans for civic reform work whether through the medium of a distinct organization or other-

wise, great benefit will accrue from a careful study of what others have done.

Study of Existing Methods. As a rule, reformers are amateurs in politics and are more richly endowed with enthusiasm than experience. Before attempting to pass judgment upon the mistakes of others, they will do well to learn, not only the causes of, but the remedies for such mistakes. In no way can this be done so effectively as through personal contact and acquaintance with the leading spirits in such work in the great cities of the country, a painstaking study and investigation of the work done by the successful civic reform organizations, and the application to the specific local situation of the methods which have elsewhere stood the tests of time and experience. The City of New York is the seat and centre of a large number of public bodies which may well furnish inspiration, example and instruction along these lines. Among others may be mentioned the National Civil Service Reform League, the Reform Club and the City Club, the Citizens' Union and the American Institute of Social Service. Connected with each is a body of earnest, public-spirited workers in the cause of civic reform who are always delighted to assist in the inauguration of such work anywhere. Their headquarters are veritable storehouses of the literature and experience of civic reform amid all the varying conditions found in this country and abroad. It is not too much to say that a fatal mistake will be made by any one, desirous of contributing by his own work to this great cause, who shall fail to inform himself through a study of these and similar organizations.

Guided by their experience and following the leadership of practical and disinterested men, it is possible in any community to set in motion a train of influences which will insure a return to rational and business-like methods. It will not do, however, to take up too many lines of work. It is far better to settle down at once on a few vitally needed reforms until definite results appear, as object-lessons and incentives to further and more extended undertakings. Meanwhile with broadening experience will come increased efficiency and facility in dealing with public questions and public men and, pointing to a record rather than a prospectus, more generous support may be obtained.

"But," it may be asked, "are not these ideals too exalted for this work-a-day world. Can men be found fitted to lead reform movements along these high lines?" So far, I have refrained from personal allusions. This point, however, can be best argued in the light of concrete experience. Speaking to an audience interested in all that makes for a truer and better civic life, and meeting on New Jersey soil and seeking to draw inspiration from New Jersey's fight for civic reform, I shall surely be permitted to dwell briefly on the contributions made to this great cause by two of our noblest citizens who have so lately passed from us—both taken in the full tide of their active and beneficent careers and each of them leaving a priceless heritage of good deeds and inspiring example—Archer Brown and Henry H. Hall, the first and second president, respectively, of the Citizens' Union of East Orange.

New Jersey's Experience.

They were men cast in the grandest mold, worthy to lead, as they did lead, in every good work, in church, society, state and commerce. In every walk of life, they measured up to the full stature of manhood of the finest type. Personally modest, unassuming and retiring, they shunned public honors and accepted leadership only in response to the urgent call of their fellow-citizens in their times of need. They are held in affectionate remembrance by all who knew them and their counsel and example will be ever with us as a guide and inspiration in continuing the work to which they gave so freely of their time and substance.

I trust it may not be deemed invidious to mention also in this presence another leader whom we hold in as high esteem, and trust yet to have with us for many years to come. The name of the Rev. Adolph Roeder of Orange is known and honored wherever the work of civic reform in New Jersey extends. He has labored so unceasingly in so many fields of kindliness and beneficence, that he may with propriety be cited as a notable and conspicuous illustration of the sort of men we need in every community to combat the forces which threaten to undermine civic morality and debase our public service. So long as we have with us such men—and they are to be found in every American community—we need not despair of the future.

Credit to National Municipal League.

Finally too much credit cannot be given to those who, in season and out of season, have guided and governed the National Municipal League through its long and honorable career of usefulness. It has afforded a national forum for the discussion of these great principles and has yearly brought together representatives of every shade of thought and policy in a frank interchange of views. To its officers, it must be the source of the keenest satisfaction to see the spread of the ideas which have been advanced in these annual gatherings, and to know that they have worthily borne their share in directing the work of civic reform along right lines and keeping it within the practical channels which may be justly described as "Sanity in the Conduct of Civic Reforms."

A Fundamental Principle in Civic Education.

By WILLIAM CHAUNCY LANGDON, New York,

The whole nature of the boy is turned toward the future. His life is a life in the future. His present is full of plans and dreams. The past he knows not. Indeed he treats the past in very cavalier style, totally disregarding its character as past: he revives it, jerks it up into a very vivid present and lives it over quite anew to suit his own pleasure. The past merely suggests names and exploits to him and supplies costume and local color for his dreams.

The Child's Attitude.

Surely every one realizes this. How many times has Balboa discovered the Pacific, even though its waters were green with the grass of the pasture land just over the hill! How many times has Natty Bumpo with stealthy tread and straight tracks threaded his way through the woods back of your barn, or Napoleon folded his arms to consider the conquest of the boys at the other end of the village? Boys love stories of the past and heroic characters of the past, but they love them as of the present or as to be used in their own immediate future. To the boy the past means nothing. He is unconscious of the tense. He lives in the present and future.

This fact in the psychology of boys is fundamental to success in the training of the country's future citizens. Our civilization, especially in education, over-emphasizes the past. Our education is biassed in favor of the past, with the result that the fruits of our education in citizenship are dwarfed.

I want in this paper to discuss, not dogmatically but suggestively, this psychological principle in the nature of the boy to-

gether with certain characteristics of our civilization, to the end that we may see how a proper appreciation of this principle will help remedy the defects of our citizenship.

The Adult's Attitude.

Whereas the boy is turned by nature wholly toward the future, the adult stands midway and looks in both directions. As the years pass, his past grows: he dreams, he looks forward less and relies more and more on experience from the past, until in old age, the past is all to him, his whole life is in the past and of the past, and he sits waiting quietly for the end.

Strictly speaking, however, there is in the consciousness of man no past, there is no future. Consciousness testifies only to an eternal ever-flowing present. The "past" consists of present memories; the "future" consists of present anticipations, plans, dreams for a present that is to come. The consciousness of a man may therefore be considered as consisting of a present comprehending so much of the element of the past and so much of the element of the future. The proportion between the two constitutes a formula for the man's psychologic age. By this formulation, the future element is predominant in the consciousness of the boy; whereas in the adult consciousness of the man, the past element has acquired a large percentage and maybe the control.

The moral content of consciousness corresponds to the predominance of the past or the future element. Action is the accompaniment of the future element; wisdom, of the past element. In human consciousness, the real doing is the willing of the thing, the projecting of the intention in the dreaming moment which precedes the act that brings it to realization. In that moment when the will exerts to action, the future element is predominant. As the past element increases in the consciousness, the will-power exerts itself more and more in the form of restraint. These two functions of the will might be called the will to yes and the will to no, corresponding to action and restraint, to radicalism and conservatism—the one more specially associated in consciousness with the element of the future and with youth; the other with the element of the past and with age.

In education, then, we find the situation is that the teacher is

a being to whom as an adult the past amounts to a great deal—an ever-increasing great deal—and who has at least a considerable development of the will of restraint; while the pupil is a being to whom the past amounts to little, to whom its increase is not yet appreciable, and in whom the will of restraint is yet but slightly developed, while the will of action has free course. Here is a pitfall for the teacher. If the teacher relies on that element which he realizes is on the ascendant with him, and one which therefore he naturally relies,—pre-supposing a vital power in the past with the boy,—he will be relying on something which is quite ineffective of results, and incomprehensible to his pupil.

The Teachers' Position.

Ever since the days of the Ten Commandments, education has tried to cultivate the will of action by developing the will of restraint. It cannot be done, because it requires that the boy shall be old before he is young. The Ten Commandments belong to the penal code, not to education. They were statutes; they did not constitute a text-book. The teacher must rely on the element of the future to get results in the education of the boy.

It is then clear that simply because the boy is a boy and the teacher is an adult, there is more than a possibility that education will go astray in its work. This is true of all subjects, but the training of children for citizenship is a side of education which is peculiarly exposed to this danger. The most serious fault in our "educated citizens" is that their citizenship has no application to the practical matters before their cities. They study books instead of their neighbors; they study the past instead of the present; they study something else instead of the problem in hand in its own actual conditions. There are three considerations in our citizenship itself which on the one hand make such a defect on the part of education even more serious. On the other hand, they ensure success to a civic education that observes the future and active character of the boy's nature.

"Educated Citizens."

1. Citizenship is a concrete human affair, not a general theoretical affair. The present and future aspects are the only tangible forms in which it is possible to judge such questions. Human nature brings into politics a capricious element that plays

havoc with all laws and precedents. Because it was so once is no reason for thinking it will be so again. Prediction in regard to a campaign can be safely made only after the votes are counted. It is of first importance that education should train citizens to judge matters first hand on their own merits, without guidance from former custom or precedent.

Three Considerations of Citizenship.

2. The material development of civilization is so rapid as to make the past and the present in public affairs incomparable. The New York and the Philadelphia of to-day are a new creation, compared with the New York and the Philadelphia of fifty, of twenty-five years ago—or even less. Not only does human nature change,—environment changes. The telegraph and the telephone alone have produced an instantaneous concord of thinking and an intensity of simultaneous discussion such as mean a revolution in the whole subject matter and method of political work. The citizen has to be able and habituated to thinking clearly, deciding correctly and acting instantly on first telegraphic notice. Every generation, every year sees a new world in public affairs for the citizens to meet, to master and to turn into progress.

3. Further—coming down to what may be thought merely an incidental consideration, but not the less important—the "educated citizen" will find that the majority of his fellows are not learned in history and in the theory of civics. They do not judge questions in an historical or theoretical manner, no matter if those questions can be more intelligently judged in that manner. The majority of the electorate judge their public questions in the concrete, first hand, each on its own isolated merits as it arises in the present, and as they think the decision will affect the future. Citizenship is a fellow-function. If a man cannot take his place as a fellow-citizen in a majority or in a minority, his citizenship will not be effective. It will be academic and negative at best. He will not count. Training for citizenship must remember majorities are fundamental in the constitution of the country. The part of the citizen is not that of a student, but of an active, a very active participant, working with his fellows—keen, quick, bold and masterly. Does our education in these United States in the year

Citizenship, a Fellow-Function.

of 1906 specifically and directly make of our boys citizens of this kind? The good citizen is a man who does things. The will of action is one of his most important qualities. The chief duty of training for citizenship is to see that he has this quality.

The responsibility for the defectiveness of our citizenship does not belong entirely or chiefly to education, though there is the point of contact for remedy. The fault belongs to our civilization as a whole,—to us. The same trouble will be found in other manifestations of our civilization.

Religion, as being man's deepest interest, however shallow or however profound, is the surest exemplar of his character. Without any discrimination between churches or intention to criticize their teachings,—using religion simply as an accurate manifestation of our civilization,—does not our religion appeal back to the past too much? It prays to a present God, via at least 1900 years; or to an abstract deity whose date might be placed as the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis. The difference resulting, if our religion were really of the present, may easily be suggested by the question how would it be if the Christians realized Christ as actually present now? But as it is—religious lethargy —more or less; a Sunday piety, urged to church by their pastors, on the part of a fraction of those who call themselves Christians.

Defects in Religion and Education.

And is not the same true of the other religionists and "no religionists"? The spontaneously moral and generous heart of the American cannot be impugned, but is not its religious embodiment too traditional? Is it not true that our religion is not of the present; it is of the past.

The same is seen in education in general. Language and languages, literature, art—all are taught in a way that points back to a perfect classic time in the ages long ago,—by preference, Greece in the days of Pericles, with another centering in the Elizabethan days of Shakespere. Fine those days were—wonderful, but not comparable to ours in kind (not to quarrel about quality) that our teachers should set those times up before the inheritors of the future and writing their dates in gold numbers say then were the perfect times, then was the golden era. An ideal time in the past knocks the vigor out of all effort in a boy, leaving him

for inspiration mild resigned imitation. We do not want imitation; we want origination. To get the best results in the man at the prime of his life, the boy must be trained in harmony with his own nature by inspiring energizing methods, not turned back, academized, started as it were in the gray dawn of an imposed unnatural middle age to grow into a second youth classic and quiet, contemplative. Science is the grand exception. Every pupil in laboratory feels that there is brooding over the work—his own and his instructors'—the tremendous achievements that Science is going to achieve in the future. He is being led up to it. The spirit and methods of science-teaching in this respect are grand; and it gets the reward it strives for. Education ought to focus all things upon the future, storing up in the character of the boy a worth-while incentive and enthusiasm, an impetus which will in his prime bring him through all the difficulties that are encountered to a successful realization of his tasks and opportunities.

Imitation and Origination.

This will come. It is already more and more being put into practice. The spirit of democracy is on the ascendant, tremendous and powerful, in the mind and marrow of the people. Not merely is the outlook most encouraging, the tide has turned. Aristocracy is of the past. Democracy is of the present and the future. Aristocracy is passing with its dead distinctions relying on what one's fathers were, or on what we were or have done before, as of prime value in the present;—Democracy is coming, counting only what the man can do now, regardless of how much or how great may have been done by his family or by him in the past, judging him afresh each day on his own merits.

Democracy.

Three lines of practice in teaching suggest themselves as promising to help on the rejuvenation of our citizenship—all three vitally interrelated.

Three Lines of Teaching.

1. Make history, civics, English and all other subjects lead up to the present and the future—at least the present, which is after all only the teacher's point of view; and better, to the future, which is the boy's point of view.

2. Have children learn to *do by doing*. Instruction is well—

but education comes only by doing. The manual training principle has done much for this. In English—let them write, write write,—read aloud, act. Lead them to think and write their own thoughts, ideas, stories—tragic or comic, whatever they be. Bring the laboratory method into all things. In history, keep contemporary and local politics and civics ever closely before them, side by side with the past politics and civilizaton they are studying. Let the boy make a Greek shield and sword, or English helmet in his foundry,—do, at least a little, as the people of whom he studies did, and learn by going out and seeing for himself how we do the same things now—building wagons, exchanging money, administering justice.*

3. In all instruction and in all education place our ideals and our ideal time in the future, not in the past. Be optimistic ourselves as well; drop pessimism even of the most cultured kind;—not because of any grand optimistic resolutions we may have made in spite of cold facts we know to the contrary, but because in dealing with boys, pessimism is technically useless. Classicism is inadequate with its pale moonlight of ideals that are mere memories of the past. We must get into our boys the glory of doing real things in a great time in the sunlight blaze of our and their own ideals.

There is fine suggestion in the old Irish legend where Finn the hero of the Fianna of Ireland asked the chief men of the Fianna what was the music they thought the best. To be playing at games, said one; the talking of a woman, another, the outcry of the hounds, the music of the woods, said others, and the striking of swords. "But it used to be said by the Fianna that the music that was best with Finn was what happened." True music for the making of good and able citizens!

* This is provided for in a new civics text-book just published by Charles Dwight Willard, entitled "Municipal Government for Young People," published by the Macmillan Co.

Report

of the

'Committee on Co-ordination in Research and Instruction in Municipal Government."

By PROF. L. S. ROWE, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman.

It is a source of great satisfaction to your Committee to be able to present with each year a certain definite record of achievement which brings us closer to the fulfilment of the purpose for which this Committee was established. In the discussion which led to the appointment of the Committee, it was clearly understood that its main purpose was to bring the students in our American universities into closer contact with the actual facts of our municipal development. The end which your Committee has constantly kept in view has been to train the student so as to familiarize him with methods of inquiry which would lead him to make independent investigations, and through this contact with practical problems to arouse an interest in municipal affairs. We feel that this plan contributes far more than didactic lectures towards equipping students for the practical duties of citizenship.

Definite Record of Achievement.

The work of the Committee during the current academic year has been strengthened by the fact that the topic adopted for special research was also made the subject of the Baldwin Prize Essay. Your Committee sincerely hopes that this same plan will be carried out during the coming year.

Six of the eleven institutions represented on your Committee carried out the plan in detail and in every institution in which the plan was tried the reports that have been received are most satisfactory. The personal investigations which the students have made have aroused in them an interest in the work which will

leave a deep impress on their attitude towards civic affairs when they have once entered professional or business life. Furthermore, the fact that investigations of this kind are being carried on throughout the country lends added dignity to the work, for it makes the student feel that he is co-operating in the execution of a larger plan which in a sense is national in scope.

Your Committee is convinced that the plan inaugurated two years ago has advanced beyond the experimental stage and that it has now become the duty of this Committee to secure the co-operation of those institutions in which heretofore but little attention has been given to the study of city government. During the current year a representative of Yale University has been added and it is our hope that within a comparatively short time every large institution of the country will have representation on this Committee.

The Municipality and the Water Supply.

The topic for special research during the academic year 1906-1907 will be "The Relation of the Municipality to the Water Supply." We beg to submit herewith an outline for the investigation:

Relation of the Municipality to the Water Supply

I. When furnished by private enterprise.
   1. Conditions of franchise.
      a. Requirements of service.
      b. Maximum charges for public and private supply.
      c. Actual charge to the city.
      d. Total payment per year.
      e. Actual charge to the consumer.
      f. Money payments to the city treasury (distinguish if possible between franchise payments and taxes.)
   2. Financial history of water companies.
   3. Present capitalization and finances of water companies.
   4. Control of municipal authorities over the accounts of the company.
   5. Right of city to purchase plant and conditions of purchase.
   6. Daily per capita consumption.
   7. Use of water meters. Waste.
   8. Condition of supply and relation to public health.
   9. Source of supply—method of purification.
   10. Plans for improvement of supply.

II. When furnished by public authority—municipal water works.
1. History of establishment of water supply to consumers.
   a. Administrative organization of water department.
   b. Appointment of employees. Civil service requirements.
   c. Merits and defects of present administrative system and suggestions for improvement.
2. Financial history of water works.
3. System of accounting.
4. Profits. Use made thereof.
5. Adequacy of supply.
6. Charges to consumers.
7. Average daily per capita consumption. Waste.
8. Experience with water meters, if such have been used.
9. Relation of water supply to public health.
10. Source of supply—method of purification.
11. Present condition of the works. Recent improvements.
12. Plans for improvement.

Banquet Speech.

It so happened that the date for the banquet to the members of the League fell on the same date as that fixed a long time in advance for the New Jersey Bankers' Association's annual banquet, to be held at the Hotel Chelsea. Instead of having two dinners at different places, it was deemed advisable to join forces, and the League members and delegates were invited to be the guests of Mr. Henry W. Leeds, of the Chalfonte, at the Bankers' Dinner, over which Governor E. C. Stokes, of New Jersey, and now a member of the League, presided as toastmaster.

The speakers on this occasion were Secretary of War William H. Taft, Secretary of the Navy Charles J. Bonaparte (President of the National Municipal League), and United States Senator John F. Dryden, of New Jersey.

Mr. Bonaparte's address was the only one which dealt mainly with municipal subjects, and is therefore the only one herewith reproduced.

THE TOASTMASTER: I am sure that we have all enjoyed that eloquent plea for the Filipinos. It will be impossible, however, to decide the question of the presidency until after we have heard from the next speaker. It is not an unusual thing for New Jersey to be called a foreign country. I am glad to-night to be able to set at rest that tradition once for all. The gentleman who sits at my left is, hereditarily speaking, responsible for that charge. In the last century the King of Spain migrated to this country and settled in this State in Bordentown. From the fact of his abode in New Jersey, New Jersey was known by the appellation of the Kingdom of Spain, and from that the transition to the charge that we were a foreign country was easy. Joseph Bonaparte was the great-uncle of the distinguished Secretary of the Navy. So you see New Jersey claims to have at least one member of the Cabinet.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Honorable Charles J. Bonaparte, the Secretary of the Navy and the President of the National Municipal League.

MR. BONAPARTE: Mr. President, Mr. Toastmaster, and gentlemen of the New Jersey Bankers' Association, and such others of my companions in iniquity as reformers as are scattered throughout your hospitable board:

Before proceeding to the serious talk which I expect to give you, for, of course, you know whenever members of the Cabinet make speeches, especially when there is a Senator anywhere around, they give very serious

talks, let me settle this important and practically urgent question of the determination of the next candidate for the presidency.

A number of years ago a judgeship became vacant in my native state and it was asked how many members of the Bar were candidates for the position. The reply by somebody was, "Some six openly and all the rest under cover." Now, when I was corrupted by my introduction into the Cabinet [laughter] I found a somewhat similar condition of affairs existing as to the presidency. I will not go into the precise figures, because that might verge on the personal, but there were those who were supposed—there was one, at least, one or more—who were supposed to have an altruistic desire to fill that position, and there were others whose altruism as thus exemplified was beautifully and carefully confined to their own inner consciousness; but I am the only member of the Cabinet, so far as I know, who has ever had suggested to me another distinction.

The Presidency.

I received some time ago a visit—or a letter rather—from somebody, just who I don't remember, and except for the purposes of the strict accuracy which should always be observed in addressing at this hour an audience such as this, it is not material. My correspondent wanted something—perhaps it was that I should let up on a deserter; perhaps it was that I should not be too hard on one of the hazers at Annapolis; perhaps it was that I should return some gentleman, who had enlisted in haste and repented at leisure, to his sorrowing female relatives—but whatever it was, he concluded his letter by saying that if I was able to do this for him, he would be happy to give me all of his support in a canvass for the vice-presidency. [Laughter.] I am not aware that any other member of the Cabinet is a candidate for that office, so I trust that there may be no doubt at all in your minds, whatever you think as to the head of the ticket, as to who has preëmpted the tail, and this will not be a case of the tail wagging the—well, it would not be polite to call the candidate for the presidency what immediately occurs to the mind, but we will say the larger portion of the entity. [Laughter.]

It is, however, gentlemen, important to bear in mind that I appear before you in a double capacity, or, to speak more accurately, my designation as the Secretary of the Navy is in this instance a mere personal description. I happen to hold that very important office, however unworthily, but I appear before this audience not because I hold that office, but because I hold the far more lucrative office—now, you may think that is a joke, but it isn't—the far more lucrative position of President of the National Municipal League, and I held that during the time when I was able to masquerade with some success as a reformer, because I had not become acquainted—or at least intimately acquainted—with the present Secretary of War. [Laughter.]

The Presidency of the National Municipal League.

In that capacity, in the capacity of President of the National Municipal

League, I speak to you for the little time that I shall detain you this evening, and perhaps, in order that you may better appreciate the dignity and importance of the position which thus entitles me to come here, I may tell you a word, or a few words, about what the National Municipal League is, not, of course, that I imagine that any one of you is at all ignorant on that subject, because I would not make so uncomplimentary a statement, or suggest so uncomplimentary an estimate of your acquaintance with the most important facts of contemporaneous history, but because after various forms of intellectual pleasure have been indulged in for a considerable time there is sometimes a little, so to speak, commingling of ideas on the part of those who have benefited by it, and it may just be that you confuse at this moment the National Municipal League with other bodies of the same general purport.

The National Municipal League.

The League is made up of thoroughly impractical, visionary, idealistic persons, I being, as its President, the especially visionary and idealistic exemplar. For example, in my annual address last evening I suggested that if the nation or the state or the city wanted first-class goods, whether in the shape of statesmen or anything else, it ought to pay first-class prices for them. Now, you know nobody but a visionary would ever have said that, and it seemed to meet with the approval of the other visionaries who were present when it was uttered, and I may add that I rather thought it would also meet with the approval of any public officials who happened to be on hand. I did not illustrate on the occasion, but I am inclined to think that those officials who particularly need the practical application of this principle in the readjustment of compensation are Senators of the United States, governors of our several states, and, most of all, members of the Cabinet.

Moreover, in our idealistic way we have been striving to attain two things: First of all, without attempting to lay down any general rule as to what is necessarily the best form of administration for one or another municipality, that we should everywhere have an honest administration. We may differ about one thing or another in regard to how we shall be governed, but that we shall be governed honestly, that the revenues of the people, from whatever source derived and to whatever purpose applied, shall come into the hands of honest men and be used for the purposes to which they should be given, those things are matters about which we do not think there is any difference of opinion among those whose opinion counts. [Applause.]

And the second thing that we have set out to promote is that one city or similar municipal community in this country should profit by the experience of other municipalities in this country and all governments of the same class, so that just as we teach our sons to get along a little better in each generation than their fathers did by pointing out to them the foolish things which their fathers did in their day and teaching them to avoid it,

so we should show one American city what mistakes or follies had been committed by another one and lead them, if possible, to profit, or at least offer them the opportunity to profit, by the experience of others, instead of dearly paying for the same lesson of their own.

Its Two Great Aims.

Now, if it occurs to you that these two aims, which, speaking very broadly, have been the two aims of the National Municipal League—first, to promote what might be called a municipal patriotism, to raise this standard of our citizens in dealing with problems of city government, and with the things which are concerned with the administration of such governments, and secondly, to bring to them the experience of other communities so that they may deal not only honestly, but intelligently, with the same problems when they are brought home to them; now if you think that these forms and developments of idealism and impracticability have sufficient merit to make you think that you would like to be idealists or impracticabilists of the same sort, I wish to hold out to you a reward for acting on that suggestion by saying that I very sincerely hope that every one here will be present next year not only at this banquet, but also at the banquet of the National Municipal League, having previously attended to the detail of enrolling himself as a member of the National Municipal League. [Applause.]

Membership in the League.

For I have this advantage in addressing you over the President of your own organization: you cannot invite us to become bankers—at least you could invite us, but there would probably be certain practical details which would make it very difficult for the most of us to act upon the invitation—but we can, and do, invite all of you to become members of the National Municipal League, because in the work to which that body has devoted itself there is room for the help of every good citizen. [Applause.]

The work of good government in this country in all its stages, in last resort means the development and strengthening of public opinion. We must make our people think and feel, and because they think and feel, act rightly with questions which they have to decide as citizens in order to be sure that the decisions which they shall reach will be worthy of them and worthy of the greatness of the nation; and in that work there is no distinction between any class or occupation of citizens, and no body of citizens, whatever their occupation, can be excused from bearing its part in that work.

If there is any class of citizens who are not interested in good government, it is that class who are interested in the proper management of the penitentiaries, because they ought to be there, and in appealing, therefore, to you gentlemen whom I see before me to give your aid in this work of promoting the honesty and efficiency and system of our government in that particular sphere of governmental action—that is to say, the government

of our great cities, and often of our smaller towns in which it has developed the most dangerous weaknesses and has exposed itself to the most reasonable criticism—in asking you, I say, to help us in this work, I ask you to do it not as bankers or as financiers, but as American citizens interested in the glory, the prosperity and the virtue of your nation, and in asking you to do it I feel the greater confidence of a favorable response because I cannot doubt that you see that men should be sufficiently awake to their own interest and to the interest of the community to maintain themselves in such a situation as this; that you will see, as every one will see, that we all sink or swim together, and that it is impossible that any class of the community could long prosper or long fail to languish through abuses which sapped its vitality, which tarnished its honor and which threatened its prosperity. Therefore, I confidently hope that when next year we get Secretary Taft and Senator Dryden and the Governor to come on and address the Municipal League—I am not sure where it will be, but wherever it is we will expect them to come, and extend them an invitation now—they will find in the body to which they will then speak—for of course they are coming—the same men who have listened with so much attention, and preceded that attention by so much cheerfulness and hilarity, as those who have been before us this evening, and if you act upon my invitation we may perhaps be able to show you our appreciation for your courtesy in asking our President to speak to you this evening.

I am, finally, to still more encourage you to accept that invitation and act on my suggestion, by now closing the remarks with which I have detained you from something more interesting, and promise that I will not speak at greater length next year. [Great applause.]

The Round Table Conferences.

A Round Table Conference was held on Tuesday, April 24th, at the Hotel Chalfonte, Elliott Hunt Pendleton, Esq., of Cincinnati, presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think probably we can reach the matter of most importance for discussion if I call your attention to some of the topics that have been suggested for our consideration this evening. I wrote to as many delegates as I could reach for their suggestions, and most of them responded.

I will read just a few of the letters, those that cover the questions that are thought of the greatest importance. I have a letter here from Mr. E. K. Summerwell, of New York, who is, I believe, connected with the New Jersey State Civic Federation. Here is another letter which I have received from Mr. John A. Butler, of Milwaukee. Here is a letter from A. B. Peckinpaugh, Deputy State Auditor of Ohio, asking for information as to the best general ledger to be kept by the auditing departments of cities and the best system for procuring an accurate check upon the receipts from the municipal industries. Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., of Boston, sends in a communication. L. G. Powers, of the Department of Commerce, suggests that as an individual he would like to have considered questions connected with the municipal ownership and operation of public utilities. Mr. Wahl, of Atlantic City, would like to have our suggestions as to how to waken public sentiment sufficiently to inaugurate a public movement to overthrow "boss" domination and to establish in its place an honest government for the best interest of the people. Mr. Thomas Raeburn White, of Philadelphia, suggests improvement through personal registration and uniform primaries. Mr. Farnham Yardley, of East Orange, suggests what means should be taken to enlighten and interest the citizens. Adolph Roeder, President of the New Jersey State Civic Federation, would like to have the recall considered, and also the advisability of securing ante-election pledges. Mr. Percy N. Booth, of Louisville, wants fair elections. Mr. Charles Ingersoll, of New York, suggests that home rule is the crying need.*

Suggestions for Discussion.

Now, gentlemen, I have about run over all the letters that I have thus far received and it seems to me that one of the most important questions

* For excerpts from the letters themselves, see at the close of the Report of the Conferences.—EDITOR.

for our consideration here to-night is, how are we going, in a practical way, to bring about the adoption of these reforms and secure the ends which the National Municipal League stands for. When you come down to the question, it seems to me that what President Hadley of Yale had to say on one occasion is the situation. He said: "Not by the axioms of metaphysics on the one hand, nor by the machinery of legislation on the other, can we deal with the questions which vex human society. The really difficult political problems of the day can be solved only by an educational process."

The Solution an Educational Process.

It seems to me that the first question that we ought to consider is, how can we bring about as speedily as possible an education of the people to the point where they will accept the principles that we stand for as being the principles that ought to govern. I believe myself in our taking a practical interest and an active interest in politics on the reform side. There are two plans, I might say, of working out that problem in municipal affairs by taking an active interest. One is what is known as the municipal voters' league plan, and the other plan is the plan of the city or independent party. One, the endorsement of candidates nominated by the national parties, and the other, putting up an absolutely independent ticket; or we might say a combination of both, which we are trying to do in Cincinnati. In Cincinnati some three years ago we had an independent ticket, but the reason we adopted that plan was that we persuaded the local Democratic party not to put up any ticket at that time, so that we had practically the assistance of the Democrats of Cincinnati in the support of our independent movement. Later on the Democrats refused to keep their own ticket out of the field, and we are now confronted with the proposition as to what we shall do in the next election.

The Municipal Voters' League Plan.

I am inclined myself to feel that the best plan to adopt is the plan of endorsing the best men nominated by the national parties. But that—please don't misunderstand me—is simply a temporary expedient. I believe we can create in the community a spirit of non-partisanship more rapidly by pursuing that plan now than by attempting to put up an absolutely independent ticket. And that will lead eventually, in my judgment, to a disregard of party lines as we become more educated and more intelligent along the lines that this League stands for. When we shall reach that point, then we will feel that the time is ripe to put up an absolutely independent ticket. It was only last night that Mr. Weaver, in a speech that he delivered in Philadelphia, expressed the idea that the time is ripe there for the organization of an independent party—"a party for civic virtue" I believe is what he called it—where the better men in all parties can combine under the one standard. I would suggest that that question be taken up first, and I would be glad to hear now from any one on that subject.

MR. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART: I should like to say that the suggestions which the Chairman has made as to the subject of the evening fall exactly within the experience of the good people of Cambridge, who have tried various methods of perfecting a government of a non-partisan character, none of which has seemed to be successful. Everybody knows that Cambridge is one of the cities that has the best government, the government least affected by party politics, least disturbed by party contests. In many ways it is an excellent government. I have been accustomed in conventions of this kind to hear my city alluded to as a model of all virtues, and to suppose that if other people would only do as we do, the world would be a better place.

Cambridge's Experience.

Yet the good people of Cambridge are in distress. For many years we had a method of endorsing candidates at a meeting which was called Library Hall, and it worked excellently. It was a gathering of the best people, the most disinterested people, the people least likely to have partisan ends to serve (I was one of them); and we waited until the party nominations were made, and then approved this man and disapproved that man, and got out a statement of the candidates' previous public service, one of those dreadful things which politicians most dislike. They don't wish to have their previous records examined; they stand upon their present record, the benefits they confer on their immediate constituents. At any rate the Library Hall suddenly collapsed; there wasn't any Library Hall. For some reason or other an endorsement by that body ceased to have currency, and there was a general feeling that the time had come to form a regular non-partisan political organization. About the same time there appeared a good old-fashioned, new-fashioned politician, one Mr. McNamee, an excellent bookbinder and a past master in the art of political organization, who put himself forward as a candidate of one of the political parties.

Non-Partisanship.

The real difficulty in Cambridge is not so much that the truly good people have grown fewer, but that the city has been engulfed by a great number of other people coming from other countries and from other climes, who have not been educated at Harvard College; but the new people have votes—like the others who have been educated at Harvard College; and, what is more, they discovered suddenly that the old-time were outnumbered by the people who were not born in Cambridge became from somewhere else, so that they had a political majority if they chose to vote together. Mr. McNamee did his best to organize his party and he succeeded in being elected; whereupon we had one of the most disagreeable times in the history of the city, owing to the fact that he was a very belligerent man who, by way of building up a machine, quarrelled with many members of his own party. The result was that some of the most influential and capable Irishmen threw their lot in with the distinct

"non-partisan party," and with a very great effort Mr. McNamee was defeated and we had two years of non-partisan administration under an Irish Catholic mayor, Judge Daly. But at the last election, by a majority of sixty, another non-partisan candidate was defeated by a man who, having been elected as a Democrat, at once turned around and became a very good non-partisan himself.

That puts Cambridge in a quandary. All the political machinery which the Chairman has described, all those methods of voting for a man already nominated by this party or that party, have failed of their purpose in Cambridge. The only thing apparently left for the non-partisans is to take the present mayor, endorse him, and say, "We will elect you." But where does that leave our non-partisan party?

Difficulties to be Overcome.

The main difficulty in Cambridge is one which of course all reform movements finally encounter, namely, the fact that our organization is not of the same kind as a straight political organization. It has not the same motives. It has not the same adherents. It gets into queer mix-ups. For example, Luck, the non-partisan candidate for mayor, was defeated in Cambridge; we did elect a majority of non-partisan aldermen and councilmen; and the mayor elected as a Democrat has refused to accept any boss, and at present appears to act in harmony with the non-partisan administration, so that, after all, we have a good city government. The reason is that those persons who have not had the advantage of education in Harvard College show a lot of good, hard political sense. An appeal has been successfully made to the foreign vote, of which we have a very considerable number, and by voters coming in from other parts of the Commonwealth and of the United States, to vote for the non-partisan ticket, on the ground that they are entitled to a good government; and somehow or other that straightforward appeal has so far been successful in a city which has a very decided and distinct normal Democratic party majority. In the face of that we practically have a non-partisan city government.

I am not describing our conditions with the idea of elucidating a principle or helping other cities along, because it seems to me that Cambridge does not go according to the books. You may read the annual reports of the National Municipal League from beginning to end, and they do not provide for the state of things we have in Cambridge. The only thing that it seems safe to deduce is that in a city where there is a considerable number of men of every class who are really interested in good government, somehow or other they will get together. If they are in a majority they will take control. The exact position of that majority may shift: it may be found chiefly within the ranks of one party, or it may be a general non-partisan movement. But I suspect, Mr. Chairman, that the real thing that the American people need in the way of forming their city governments is simply to arouse sufficient interest in a majority of the voters,

so that they will come out and vote. I regret to say that at the last election we should have chosen a non-partisan mayor but for the fact that the people who paid the highest taxes would not vote for him: they were startled by the local Good Government League, which on the eve of election sent out a circular showing how the city debt was increasing; and a sufficient number of those who paid their taxes were alarmed to such an extent as to either not vote for the non-partisan candidate or to vote for the other man. Nevertheless, in Cambridge there is likely to be a permanent majority of good citizens who will work together for municipal ends and will insist that the city government shall be conducted for the people of Cambridge, under whatever ticket the mayor and city legislators are elected. Therefore, although we do not undertake to set up our present condition as a model or an example, the government of that city may be an encouragement for other cities.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask you in connection with your remark whether the mayor who was recently elected was elected really because he was a Democrat or because of the non-partisan principles that he had advocated during the campaign, or did he switch afterwards?

MR. HART: He was nominated distinctly as a Democrat, and was supposed to be the creature of the former mayor, but it turns out he was not. He would not wear the other man's collar, and the other man has spewed him out of his mouth; but he seems to get on very well notwithstanding.

THE CHAIRMAN: But he was elected as a Democrat?

MR. HART: Yes, he was elected as a Democrat.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think this League ought to stand for a fight that means ultimately the elimination of the national parties from the control of our municipal elections. We had an election recently in Cincinnati in which, although the candidates who were elected were nominated on the Democratic ticket, they were elected because they were supposed to stand for non-partisanship in municipal affairs. They even came to our Citizens' Municipal Party and asked us to take charge of the most important meeting that was held during the campaign, and we gave them the true doctrine at that meeting, and they responded. We thought it was one of the most enthusiastic political meetings that had ever been held in Cincinnati, and a member of the Board of Public Service told me before it, "We are right with you," and told me after, "We are right with you." But what are they doing now? Instead of giving positions to men on account of merit, instead of recognizing the independent Republicans who routed the boss in Cincinnati (more so than even the Democrats did), they are not giving those men any recognition at all, and the new administration there has it in mind that the only way to win at the next election is to do the same old thing that the boss who was dethroned had been doing, namely, to build up a machine. Now, other cities have had this same experience time and time again, and I think we might as well face this issue and determine it once for all, if we stand for non-partisanship to stand for it from beginning to end and make a vigorous fight all along the line.

I would like to hear from Mr. Murphy, the Secretary of the Citizens' Union of New York, on this question.

MR. JOHN J. MURPHY: As the representative of the Citizens' Union, it is both my personal opinion and the opinion of our organization that wherever it is possible an independent fight should be made—an independent ticket nominated. The situation in New York was a very peculiar one, during the campaign of last year. It became obvious that we had already seen the last clearly partisan municipal election in New York. There was not one of the three candidates who made an appeal for election on straight party lines. The present mayor of New York, Mr. McClellan, appealed openly and frankly for Republican and Independent support to elect himself as against Mr. Hearst, who seemed to be his most dangerous opponent. Mr. Ivins, the Republican candidate, made an appeal for votes from all and sundry. In fact, you could go through the entire record of speeches made during that campaign and hardly find an appeal for support upon strictly partisan lines.

Independent Tickets.

In regard to what you say about the experience in Cincinnati (in relation to office-seeking), I can only say that that is something which always manifests itself, even when a non-partisan administration gets elected; I remember very well when Mayor Low was elected in 1901 a great many people who were not non-partisan at all, but who by the exercise of that political sense which is almost an instinct in some men, recognized that that was the direction in which the wind was blowing, came in, not because of their interest in non-partisanship, but because of their hope that if non-partisanship should win they would get just that kind of recognition. And those men were extremely clamorous. Now, in the political organizations as a rule the men who control them are able to size up the relative political values of the men who contribute to their success. They know just what they did contribute. They know what their value is. Whereas, when you get a heterogeneous mass of supporters of all kinds, even when men try to differentiate between them as to their importance, it is extremely difficult to tell, and it seems to me that whenever men are haunted by the hope, if you can put it that way, of a renomination, that, at least toward the end of their administration, their rigid non-partisanship will break down, and they will begin to recognize men here and there and everywhere who, they hope, will bring about their renomination or their re-election.

Now, in New York we have been fortunate, as you know, in having our municipal elections separated entirely from our state and national elections. They are held not merely at a different period of the year, but in different years, and in a bill passed by the Legislature two years ago the term of mayor was extended from two to four years, so that now the election of the mayor does not even come in the year preceding a national

Separate Municipal Elections.

election. The appeal which was made to the Democrats of New York to return Mayor McClellan two years ago was on the ground that the election of the mayor of New York would have a very material influence upon the subsequent Presidential election, and I believe that that had a great deal to do with swaying the votes of a great many Democrats who voted for him instead of voting for his opponent. Now, we have succeeded in getting that eliminated from the situation, but we are still—and this is the great difficulty which an independent party has to contend with where the Massachusetts form of ballot is not in operation—limited to action only in municipal years, and that means in New York, for instance, that we would only have one period of activity in every four years. As most men are in political organizations because they love a fight, because they love a conflict, because they want something to fight about, when you can only give them a fight once in every four years, you are going to lose a great deal of that kind of support. In other words, the kind of belligerent citizen who wants to engage in active, real politics, wants to have something to say every year, and it is very difficult to find that protean kind of a man who can be a Republican or Democrat in one election and then become non-partisan in another and then swing back to the Republican ranks or Democratic ranks, as the case may be, and that prevents this cohesion in non-partisan organizations which the regular parties are able to maintain from year to year.

New York Difficulties.

I believe that powerful as are influence and patronage in swaying men, almost as powerful is the opportunity for putting up a good fight for a good cause, occasionally. The right kind of a man I think likes that kind of work. He wants to be active. He wants to be doing something. And so in New York, while we have a form of ballot which, as you know, requires the party nomination to be made in straight tickets, we are limited in our activities; taking this year for instance, we are very materially interested in the complexion and character of the Senate and the Assembly, and we would be able under our Constitution to go into the Senate and Assembly contests, but if we were to do it, we would have a ticket with simply two names down at the end of a long blank column, while the regular parties would have straight tickets filled, and it is in the nature of things that what is called a "bobtailed" ticket never really expresses the strength of a party by whom it is nominated. Sheer inertia or lameness, or whatever you may please to call it, influences men to put their mark in a column where they can vote a whole ticket by a single vote. Now, we have been trying very hard in the last state Legislature to secure the adoption in New York of the Massachusetts form of ballot, and if we could do that I believe that a very long stride in advance would be made, and that we would clearly and definitely be able to put a ticket in the field every year, an independent ticket.

Some people ask why it was not done in the last election, why the Citi-

zens' Union had no column on the ballot and had no regular ticket nominated. All that we did then was to try to secure, with a large measure of success, as you know, the re-election of Mr. Jerome as District Attorney in New York County, and that shows that this idea of non-partisanship, in spite of all our work and in spite of having had a two years' example of what that kind of administration would give us, had not made much lodgment in the public mind. When Mayor McClellan was elected a great many of the men who were nominally supporting the Citizens' Union said, "This man is giving us a very good administration and we think you people ought to get in and support him." Now, that was said very generally by people who had not been merely sentimental but financial supporters of the Citizens' Union, showing that they had never appreciated what lies at the basis of our proposition, namely, the essential character of non-partisanship, and since his second election we are having an experience like that of which our friend tells us in Cambridge. That is, the mayor seems, to some extent at least, to have been emancipated from the influence which had dominated him during his first administration, and we are finding to-day through our Bureau of City Betterment (which it might interest you to know about) a good deal of coöperation from the present city administration.

The Jerome Campaign.

Some months ago there was organized by the Citizens' Union a Bureau of City Betterment. It simply consisted of a group of men who began an investigation along business lines of the methods of the administration of the different city departments, and they began to find out, for instance, whether the departments were publishing reports accurately. Then they went into the study of those reports and compared them with reports of previous years. Then they prepared a small booklet, which we have for free distribution, setting forth the duties of the different departments and putting in the telephone numbers of those departments in the book, so that any citizen who sees something wrong about the streets of the city or in his own home can tell what department to apply to, to have that thing corrected. If it is not corrected by the department, then he is advised to call up the Citizens' Union, and our Bureau of City Betterment will attend to the case and see that the matter is corrected. Now, so far we have not had a single complaint which we have not been able to get corrected by application to the proper city department. Our idea in doing that is to try to stimulate just this kind of general civic interest among citizens in the management of their own affairs. Up to this time there has been no means by which the average man on the street knew to whom to apply when anything went wrong. If he made an individual complaint, nine times out of ten it was ignored. At a meeting of our committee last night one man reported that there had been a grave violation of the Tenement House Law in the house where he lived, and he had made a com-

Bureau of City Betterment.

plaint to the department and had been unable to get it attended to; that he had then come to the Citizens' Union, and, as he described it, "We could hardly get into our house the next day, there were so many tenement-house inspectors there to see that the thing was attended to."

We think in that way we are going to stir up the individual interest of the citizens in the administration of city government, but I am quite satisfied that ultimately—whatever the local exigencies and the local conditions may make possible or impossible at this time—that ultimately if we are to have good city administration we are going to have city parties, not one party, because no government worthy of the name could ever be conducted on the basis of unanimity. That is absolutely impracticable. Men will differ from men, will organize parties in the city, but you will have a progressive party for example and a conservative, or a moderate party, as they have practically in London. You know in London, up to this last election, they have been sending Conservative members to the House of Commons and electing Progressive members to the London County Council, and they have two distinct lines and two distinct parties in the city of London, distinct entirely from the Liberals and Conservatives, who correspond to our national party representatives. So I believe myself that after awhile—it is going to take some time, it is not going to be a matter of a day or a week, but perhaps of four or five years—some time (and it is largely a question as to what direction our faces should be turned in) we are going to have city parties for the management of city affairs entirely, free from the control of state and national politics, and that is the only way that we can get reasonable, decent city government.

City Parties.

Mr. Richardson: May I ask Mr. Murphy what he would think of a change in the law which would require a separate ballot for the city, another ballot for the state, and another ballot for the national ticket, so as to have three separate ballots.

Mr. Murphy: That of course would only be important when the elections were simultaneous. As it is now, we have that practically. We have a separate ballot for municipal elections.

Mr. Richardson: Do not your state and city elections come together?

Mr. Murphy: No, they are separate. We have city elections in odd numbered years and state and national elections in even numbered years.

Mr. Deming: We have that condition still, if Mr. Murphy will pardon me, in New York, because we have purely city officials on the same ticket with county officials—for instance, judges and members of the Assembly—and it would be an advantage and we have endeavored to get it.

Mr. Woodruff: As I understand it, Mr. Richardson's suggestion is that we have a legislative ticket and a municipal ticket and a federal or national ticket, if they are all to be voted for at the same time, so that a man would have to vote his county ticket on one ballot, his municipal ballot on another and his congressional ticket on another, and his state

ticket on still another. Then you would have no such condition as now where by a single mark a man can vote for Presidential electors, congressional candidates, candidates for county offices, and in Philadelphia for local and legislative candidates.

Separate Ballots.

Of course, we must bear this in mind, that we are suffering from a multiplicity of elective offices. In some of the Western states they elect at one time as many as thirty-five and forty different officials, and it is a very convenient thing to vote for them all on a party ticket. In Philadelphia we have a pretty bad system of affairs. At an election like that last February, we chose magistrates on a city ticket, councilmen, school directors and election officers. Next year we will elect a mayor, magistrates, a city solicitor, and possibly one or two other city officials in addition to common councilmen, election officers and school directors, making a pretty long ticket for the average voter; and the busy man falls back naturally upon his party column and votes it straight for lack of information or lack of time, or both.

Multiplicity of Offices.

In Buffalo, Mr. Adam was the independent candidate, although running on a Democratic ticket as well, and he carried the rest of his ticket through, for there was so long a ticket to select that the people just voted for the whole ticket, although they might have had other preferences in regard to the other offices.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did not you say to-day, Mr. Woodruff, that this winter your Legislature passed a new ballot law?

MR. WOODRUFF: No, ballot reform was not included in the Governor's call. The election laws passed this winter included a personal registration law, requiring personal registration as a prerequisite to voting, and a uniform primary law, by which all primaries are held on the same day for all parties and under the supervision of the regular election officers.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now that you are on your feet, Mr. Woodruff, won't you tell us a little something about the City Party in Philadelphia, the difficulty, if any, that it is now encountering, and just what they are doing there now?

MR. WOODRUFF: The City Party was organized in the early part of 1905 by the Committee of Seventy to participate in the February, 1905, campaign. The Committee of Seventy, which was organized in the latter part of 1904, was face to face with the very questions you have described as those you are facing in Cincinnati: whether it should make nominations of its own, or whether it should endorse Democratic or Republican nominees as they might be worthy of it.

It believed that the Republican nominees were unworthy of support because they represented the then dominant organization, and found that the Democratic nominees were equally unworthy of support because they had been dictated by the same influence. There was only one alternative

for it to follow. It had to make its own nominations or organize a party to make nominations, which it proceeded to do. They organized the City Party, which it underwrote, so far as its finances were concerned, and gave it moral support and backing. That party polled about 35,000 votes for its candidates in the campaign which followed, being the third in the race. It was third because the Republicans diverted enough of their votes to the Democratic candidates to have them out-distance the City Party candidates.

The City Party.

Then came the break of May last, when Mayor Weaver dismissed his directors and assumed charge of his administration and cut loose from the old organization. During the summer months of 1905 the question was up as to how to make that break of permanent value and effect. Would there be a new Republican party or would they support Democratic candidates, or should the City Party be developed into an active factor? Without going into all the details, which are very interesting but somewhat complex, the City Party was utilized as the organization by which the people of Philadelphia were given an opportunity to vote for candidates pledged to the support of Mayor Weaver and to the continuance of his policy.

Primaries were duly called, delegates were elected, and a city convention held, and nominees put in the field. The City Party carried on its campaign and elected its ticket, although another party was brought into the field at the time to enable voters who wanted to be independent in state affairs as well as in local affairs to vote a single ticket. There was therefore organized a Lincoln Party, which endorsed Berry, the Democratic candidate for State Treasurer, and Judge Stewart, the Republican and Democratic candidate for Supreme Justice, as well as the entire City Party ticket. The bulk of the vote at the November election was cast in the Lincoln Party column, not because the people were Lincoln Party men, but because that was the most convenient thing to do at that particular time.

The Lincoln Party.

When the February election came on we had a rather interesting situation. The sentiment in favor of the City Party continued strong, but here was the Lincoln Party with a large following, and the question came as to what relation the Lincoln Party would have to the City Party. It so worked out that they both had the same ticket in both columns in February, and the City Party, with its Lincoln Party annex, if I may call it such, but not invidiously, secured a majority of the votes cast at the February election. We now have in Philadelphia a City Party purely local and municipal, having no state or national policy and not making any nominations for state or national offices. It has rallied to its support a very large number of aggressive and public-spirited young men. It is generally thought that the sentiment of the city is still strongly

February, 1906, Campaign.

City Party and that if nothing unforseen occurs it will be the majority party in November, and again next spring. The party is regularly organized, having its ward and division committees, and of course its city committee made up of representatives from the wards. It is carrying on an active campaign between elections, maintains regular headquarters in a house on Walnut street, with paid secretaries who devote all their time to its work.

The Old Municipal League.

The City Party idea is not a new one, however. The Municipal League preached that doctrine for a great many years before, although it never succeeded in polling so large a total vote. It did poll as high as 90,000 in one election, and it is generally believed by those who have been watching events that the City Party had so strong a hold on a certain number of people because of the efforts of those who for years have been at work along those lines. And the active Municipal League men are now very active members of the City Party. The Secretary of the City Committee is Mr. Cyrus D. Foss, Jr., who was the last Secretary of the Municipal League. Its treasurer was an active League member, and is a member of our own Executive Committee, and so the old Municipal League lives again in the new City Party, which is a third municipal party, inasmuch as the Democratic and Republican parties continue their old organizations, although the Democrats have seen a new light and are coöperating with the City Party, making the same nominations they make.

THE CHAIRMAN: How do you interpret what Mayor Weaver said, that the time is ripe for the organization of a new party?

MR. WOODRUFF: I am not authorized to speak for him, but I have no doubt that Mr. Weaver has had a hope, as a strong partisan Republican, that sooner or later the Republican party would be the means of securing permanent reform in Philadelphia, although for the past year he has cooperated with the City Party. Now I think he feels that salvation must come through a third party, and that party the City Party.

THE CHAIRMAN: Because he speaks of members of all parties being able to belong to it.

MR. WOODRUFF: That is substantially what the City Party is. There are men in the City Party who are strong Republicans and strong Prohibitionists and strong Democrats in national matters, but who have cast aside all that in their fight for the city and its interests.

MR. FREIBERG: I should like to ask whether this reaction that has been spoken about has manifested itself in Philadelphia on the part of those who are active for reform.

MR. WOODRUFF: No. The February election showed that the reform sentiment of the people of Philadelphia was stronger than ever. In November we had a very exciting and sensational campaign. There were all sorts of disclosures. Every day brought its sensations, and the people

were wrought up to a tremendous pitch. In February there were no such developments. There were no sensations. There was little or nothing at stake. Two magistrates were to be elected, and under our law both were sure of election. In a great many wards only election officials and school directors were to be elected, and notwithstanding the fact that there were apparently very few issues before the people and very little interest manifested in it and very little money raised for the City Party, its city candidates received 10,000 over the Republican party, which had cleaned up its organization and eliminated a great many objectionable elements. Now if the people in Philadelphia will take the trouble to vote in an off election after a sensational campaign like that of November, when there were very few issues involved, it shows that they are stirred up.

Persistency of the People.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Paine, have some of your questions been answered? Would you like to ask some others and make it a little clearer, if possible?

MR. PAINE: I think my questions have been pretty well answered. They really were caused by our local trouble in Boston. We have not succeeded so well as you have in some other cities in winning. We have been beaten, and the last time we were beaten by the direct primary, which we have been striving for and finally have obtained. It has done some good things, but it probably gave us our Democratic mayor, defeating the Good Government candidate. The way it worked was this: it caused a sharp fight in the Democratic party at the primaries and the strongest vote-getter won; the defeated candidate, with his supporters, then rallied with party loyalty around the Democratic winner for the final election. The Republican voters, choosing between two contestants in their primary, picked out the better one and he was nominated. If there had been no direct primary, there is not much doubt but what the Republicans would have been willing to combine with the independent Democrats and the Good Government Association and nominate a liberal man, possibly an independent Democrat, and it is probable—that is, people who were most cognizant of the situation thought—that such a man would have won. But the direct primary caused the straight party nomination of a Republican. The Republicans in their own primary would not select an independent or a liberal Democrat. That brought the contest on election day down to a straight, clean-cut fight between a Democrat and a Republican, and in an overwhelmingly Democratic city naturally the Democrat won. So that while you might say the direct primary put up the popular Democrat and beat the candidate of the machine—it did that—thus causing the better man to win as the nominee of the majority party, yet it prevented independents in connection with the minority party from winning in the final popular election. That was certainly a curious development of this reform which we have been so eagerly striving for. The result in the

Boston Troubles.

long run, however, may be very good, though the above outcome may suggest that it will tend to strengthen the dominance of the majority party.

As reformers, what are we really aiming at—the improvement in political machinery, or, partly through such improvement, the success in the truest sense of popular government in the municipal field? In Boston it seems as if we were aiming at keeping the government "honest." We have said, "Men, not measures." We have nothing to do with measures. We have laid no program before the people. As long as parties put up men possible to endorse, we endorse them. We endorse those deemed to have the best character. I think myself that policy has been disappointing and is displeasing to the people. To be sure it has rallied around the Good Government Association the so-called better elements, the Back Bay people, the people in brown-stone fronts—in short, the people who might naturally be expected to side with such an Association. They have taken the advice of the Good Government Association as to who are the better men. But it failed to win the confidence and support of the mass of the people. In Chicago last January, at the United Cities Conference of delegates from Municipal Voters' Leagues, one of the resolutions was that the will of the majority of the people deliberately formulated and expressed should control municipal policies. If that is to be the case, those who work through Good Government Clubs must go in for policies. If you go in for policies you must aim at the pledging of candidates, unless you nominate your own men to carry out your policies. We have no pledging. So that after we endorse a man he may go back on us after election. There was a great laugh on us a while ago when the mayor nominated for a most important office in the city administration, a place with the greatest opportunity for graft and corruption, a man whom we had succeeded in defeating at the previous election for a similar sort of office, and all the aldermen whom we had endorsed voted to confirm this man in this responsible and important position.

Men, Not Measures.

It seems to me a Good Government Association ought to have a program—a program of city betterment. Merely to seek the perfection of political machinery, however interesting in itself, is comparatively valueless unless it is a means to a greater end. If it is to be used and misused by national parties for their own selfish purposes it is not going to amount to much. One of the principles of the Chicago Conference was that municipal parties should be separate from national parties. Mr. Richardson's suggestion that you should drive out national parties is good, but it seems to me that it will be impossible to "drive out" national parties from municipal politics if our aim is merely to drive them out. Must it not be done in a different way, not negatively, but positively, by the introduction of such live topics and of questions so vital to the welfare of the voters that the mere presence of national partisanship

The Good Government Association.

shall seem like an intrusion not to be tolerated? Then there will be no ground for their supporters. That was the case in New York City, where Mr. Hearst raised an issue which the parties had to align themselves to, and the election, as Mr. Murphy says, was not on old party lines. No party leader appealed to the people on party grounds. The National Municipal League ought to go in for more than perfection of party machinery. It ought to go in for reforms which will gain the support of the people.

The Will of the People.

The Chicago resolution said that the will of the people, deliberately expressed, should control municipal policies. But how? I have not yet seen (though Mr. Deming, I think, says that either in a past paper or a paper to come he has shown how), I have not yet seen how the Municipal League proposes that the people should express their will and how that will is to control municipal policies. In Massachusetts we have had examples where the people thought they were voting for certain things and the representatives were apparently standing for those policies, and yet later went back on them. But you could not say that the "will of the people" which those men were thus misrepresenting had been "expressed" beyond the power of misunderstanding. It is necessary to devise and adopt new applications of political machinery whereby the will of the people can be ascertained. Many reformers feel that if it is necessary only to appeal to a limited number of influential persons it is easier to get, for instance, civil service reform enacted more quickly. I think that is the wrong way of securing reforms and getting the people on your side. If you appeal directly to the people they may at first vote down the merit system, but try again. And then when they vote for it they will have been educated to understand and appreciate it, and that will be the final solution for that problem. In Chicago they submitted that question at the polls and it was adopted by a large majority. They also submitted the question of nominations in direct primaries and it was carried by more than eight to one. The best chance we have for the perfection of parties is to carry our case straight to the people. It is also essential for our other objects, and therefore I should like to see the League extend its help in the line of seeing how we can provide that the people may be enabled to express their will, and how that will may be made more powerful for control of policies. A good deal of our future success will depend on the development along those lines.

THE CHAIRMAN: The initiative and referendum, for instance?

MR. PAINE: That is perhaps the way it may work out. But those are long-winded names. They cause distrust on the part of slow-going, dear old people who might believe in the principle and yet would fight shy of such names. In Massachusetts we have been trying to get through the Legislature a "public opinion" law. The House passed it, and the Senate, which is too largely responsive to the railroads and corporations, defeated it. They will not allow the people to express their opinion on a

question even when it has no mandatory force, but is merely a suggestion to their representatives of what they want their representatives to do. Even this mild privilege the Senate refuses to allow us. But if Legislatures refuse to permit even the expression of opinion by the people the time is coming—and there are indications that it is approaching more rapidly than many persons are aware of—when the people will definitely decide to resume for themselves the power and practice of direct legislation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Murphy, you believe in measures, of course. That is one of the objects of having a city party stand for municipal issues.

MR. MURPHY: The point Mr. Paine makes is a valid one, because that is one of the advantages that the independent party possesses over a party ready to endorse the nominee of another party. We did in 1901 and 1903 set before the voters a very distinct program. But a thought came into my mind while Mr. Paine was speaking, and I was wondering whether there was any way by which we could endeavor to bring about in American cities a custom which exists in British cities. When a man stands for a seat in Parliament or membership in the local Board of Aldermen or Town Council or whatever they call it, it is customary for him to publish in the papers in the town in which he happens to be a resident his views as to public policies, with his name attached, so that you know exactly what that man is going to stand for.

Definite Programs.

Now, it may be said that a great many people don't read those papers and don't understand what the man stands for. But he is on record as favoring those particular policies, and there is no case known where a man has absolutely gone back on a declaration which he made at the time when he was appealing for public support. That is the advertising of his principles. Now is there any way in towns where it may be impossible to get an independent party to secure from men who were standing in the different wards for election a statement of principle such as is done in those cases? I think if one could do that it would be a long step in advance to pledging them. I think that is better than the system adopted in Milwaukee, where they had a number of questions on a paper. I received at the office a few days ago a similar paper to that circulated in Milwaukee, in which they asked the candidate's opinion on certain questions. A great many people are inclined to disregard a set of principles which are forced on a man, whereas they will hold him responsible for a set of principles he makes on his own initiative. Would not that be something along the line of your remarks, Mr. Paine?

Advertising Principles.

MR. PAINE: Yes.

MR. HALL: May I give you an illustration of what took place in the Colby campaign in Essex County? Mr. Colby had been in the Legislature for two sessions and thought certain things were needed and that people wanted them but they could not get them—equal taxation, limited fran-

chises, franchise tax, and popular election of Senators. Then he began and went through all the towns with the same speech and made those four points. They were on all the dodgers until people knew them by heart, and when the thing was successful and we elected, by means of our new primary law, pledged delegates to the convention, and the platform was read off to the convention, a smile went around all over the convention when they heard read the platform of about thirty words long, containing the very four points that had been reiterated during the six weeks' campaign.

PROF. HART: In France, every candidate for the Chambre writes a confession of faith, which is written up on the dead walls of his district.

MR. WOODRUFF: There is an interesting experience I should like to lay before the members of the Conference in Harrisburg's recent history. Four years ago, I think it was, they agreed upon a definite program; they wanted street improvements in the way of better paved streets and better cleaned streets, an improved water supply and increased park facilities. There were one or two other things. They employed a number of experts, who submitted a plan. That plan was then submitted to the people of the city for approval in the shape of a loan sufficient to carry out the plan that had been suggested, and Vance C. McCormick, a candidate for mayor, pledged to carry out that program. That is familiar history, and I am glad to say that Mr. McFarland, who has had so large a part to play in that, is going to prepare a pamphlet which will give you the information in detail. McCormick served three years with great credit to himself and the community, and carried the improvements as far as it was possible for him during his administration.

The Harrisburg Plan.

Then the question of his successor came up. The bosses who were nonpartisan, thinking that the Democrats had the call, set themselves to work to capture the Democratic nomination, and they did. They nominated as a Democratic candidate to succeed Mr. McCormick a thoroughly disreputable machine politician, a man who had been in the office of mayor and who had been compelled by his successor to return fees illegally retained. The Republicans nominated E. Z. Gross, an uncle of McCormick, a clean-handed man deeply interested in the improvements. Mr. McCormick and his Democratic friends turned in for the election of Mr. Gross, and he, a Republican, was elected to carry out the program of his predecessor, a Democrat, and Mr. Gross is now coöperating very effectively in carrying out the program. It is rather an interesting illustration of measures rather than men. The measures were agreed upon very heartily, and then the people saw to it that the right men were elected, in the first instance Mr. McCormick and in the second Mr. Gross.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Scholtz, will you tell us what you are doing in Baltimore to solve the municipal problem there?

MR. SCHOLTZ: Our Municipal League in Baltimore is quite young. It

Baltimore.

was born in the month of February, 1905, just previous to the municipal spring elections. Our elections are separate. We have spring elections for councilmen and mayor. Next year we will elect a mayor and members of the first branch of the city council and half the members of the second branch, so that the second branch always consists of one-half of experienced members—presumably. The League's existence was based upon the fact that the Council had behaved very badly in the matter of municipal improvements following the fire. We formerly called it the Great Fire, but now, owing to San Francisco's affliction, we are very modest. At that time we desired to follow out a general plan of improvements. The policy was to bring about an honest and efficient administration of municipal affairs. We did not attempt anything more than that. We simply wanted to see that honest and capable men, as far as possible, were elected. We took part in the primaries that were held in April, preceding the May election, but with disaster to ourselves. But that did not deter us from going ahead and taking stock of the candidates that were put up by the Republicans and Democrats at the May election. Our city, politically considered, is very close, in fact, it is in a very happy situation. Though the city is normally Democratic, we have enough independent voters at all times to throw the result one way or the other, dependent upon the local conditions. Relying upon this, we soon had 3,000 of such independent voters as members of the Municipal League. We borrowed from the experience of Boston, Milwaukee and Chicago, inasmuch as we used the blanks that they had at that time adopted to fit our conditions; we sent them to the candidates, had them reply, and then sent out our investigators to look up the private records of these parties, and also put men at work searching the public records of those who had held office. We issued our bulletin previous to the election, with the result that out of twenty-three men whom the League found it advisable to recommend, twelve were elected. And the condition of our City Council is such that there are enough independent Democrats together with the Republicans to hold up any bad legislation, as was recently shown in the matter of a street-paving ordinance.

Another thing the League did was this: we recognized the fact that every man who had a vote ought to be appealed to. It was said that there were two classes of voters in the city that were purchaseable and would follow whoever would buy them—the negroes and the Russian Hebrews. It was considered, or always has been considered, that the Hebrews in certain wards vote solidly. In the Seventeenth Ward the negroes predominate. There are more negro voters in the Seventeenth Ward than white voters of both parties combined. The negroes have been for years electing a man, who has since died, by the name of Watty to represent them in the first branch of the City Council. Deeming him corrupt, we concentrated our efforts on the Democratic candidate, a young man by the name of Dennis. We organized a ward committee, and by

circulars, in which we set forth the record of Watty, we appealed to the colored voters. And when the day of election came around Watty, who believed that he had this entire vote in his pocket, was defeated, a thing that had been deemed impossible before. In fact, when we went in to do the work it was considered fantastic and impossible.

The same thing happened in the Third Ward with the Hebrew voters. We appealed to them through circulars in their own language, and although the other man was a man of their own race, yet the Hebrew voters turned on him and elected the other man. These were, perhaps, the most important examples of our fight. It shows, if you will go directly to the people and appeal to them in a fashion that they will understand, you can rely upon their support.

Now, as to this question of placing an independent candidate in the field, that received considerable consideration from the members of our Executive Committee, and it was also widely discussed in the papers. There were a lot of members who wanted to enter the political arena and place independent candidates in the field. Especially in one ward, where the two candidates, the Republican and the Democratic, were both employees of public service corporations, one of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the other of the United Electric Railway Company of Baltimore city.

Independent Candidates.

We took the stand, as a matter of principle, that no man employed by a corporation should sit in the City Council where questions vitally affecting the interests of the people and of franchises valuable to these corporations would come up—should be permitted to sit there and vote upon those questions. We went over the field in this ward and came to the conclusion that it would not be advisable to put up a candidate, because it would simply invite defeat, so we stood off and did nothing. We would have had a certain number of voters with us, but the number would have been so small it would have been useless. It would have been love's labor lost.

MR. FREIBERG: Is it not possible that there were some other factors which had an influence in changing the negro voters other than appealing to them by argument? It seems inconceivable to me from my experience in my own city that you could turn the vote by argument.

The Negro Vote.

MR. SCHOLTZ: We had a strong and effective committee in that ward (where I live myself), and that committee was made up chiefly of Republicans.

MR. FREIBERG: Colored men?

MR. SCHOLTZ: No; white men. This particular negro had held office so long that naturally he had created a great many enemies.

MR. FREIBERG: Oh, Watty was a darky himself?

MR. SCHOLTZ: Yes, and there were many of his own race aspiring to

the same office. In fact, once or twice they had appeared as candidates. Now, these men worked against this man Watty, and we got them all to assist us, and the result was Watty went down into defeat.

MR. FREIBERG: That is the reason I asked the question. Perhaps it was not the argument.

MR. SCHOLTZ: Argument worked well in the Jewish district, because there we had no committee; and I do know that argument appealed in many instances to the negroes, for I came in contact with a good many of the negroes to whom it appealed. The chief help was that we had the respectable Republican element working against him. They had worked against him before, but with the circulars spread in every house in that ward that was the determining straw.

THE CHAIRMAN: I rather like the way Mr. Richardson put this question, and I am going to read it over again: "Why should we not just simply turn national parties out of municipal elections and let them confine themselves to national issues and national contests?" There is a gentleman present to-night who has probably devoted more time to the solution of this question than any of the rest of us, and who has worked side by side with Mr. Richardson for ten or twelve years, and we would like to ask him how we can do it. I am going to ask Mr. Deming how he can do it.

MR. DEMING: The reform of municipal government has proceeded along the lines of evolution just as naturally and inevitably as birth and death. I remember in 1880, when I was living in Brooklyn, a municipal party never had been heard of, and local non-partisan political organizations were impossible. We young Republicans would not unite with the young Democrats, although we adopted exactly the same platform in municipal matters. The fierce partisanship—and by that I mean national partisanship—which was the natural product of the great political issues that preceded the Civil War, and was fanned into a furious flame, yes, into a white heat, during that war, had cooled off by 1880, but the embers were still very hot, and a local party—why, we were all Republicans or we were all Democrats. And we were always Republicans and always Democrats. A man was born a Republican, lived a Republican, died a Republican. And so with the Democrats. Here and there was a voice in the wilderness, but the municipal reform movement, in the sense of driving national political partisanship out of local elections, did not begin to exist until about 1880. Prior to that time a number of far-seeing men had seen the soundness of the principles that are now proclaimed from the housetops, and now and then there was a little pamphlet or a stray article in a magazine, but there was no general belief in the principle. That is where we started in Brooklyn in 1880, and we proceeded along the natural lines. The young Republicans and the young Democrats each adopted a platform containing a plank that national political partisanship had no proper place in purely local matters.

Progress Through Evolution.

By 1883, in the city of Brooklyn, both the Republican and the Democratic parties in their local conventions adopted this principle—for selfish purposes each adopted it. They had to. We had organized associations by that time in Brooklyn, young Democrats and young Republicans, that controlled the vote one way or the other, which proclaimed these principles, and there was bidding for our votes, and so the local branches of the national parties became virtuous along our lines. That was the price they were willing to pay for our support. Presently we began to have in Brooklyn, and then in New York, municipal organizations as such. There was a succession of them with various names,—a citizens' league, a civic association, a people's league, and so forth, which were joined by considerable numbers of Republicans and Democrats who no longer hesitated to work side by side in the same local political organization for local ends. That has become now a very common occurrence in a great many cities.

Brooklyn as an Example.

In New York we have now reached the point where it is recognized by both the chief national parties in their local branches—and to a considerable extent you find it also acknowledged in the law—that it shall not interfere with your standing as a regular Democrat or a regular Republican if you do not vote the Republican ticket or the Democratic ticket locally. It marks an enormous advance to have this principle actually embodied in the law and in the rules of the party. Last autumn, for instance, in New York the Republican organization and the Democratic organization were fighting the city campaign on local issues with scarcely an allusion to national politics. Since 1880 we have progressed to the point where the regular organizations of the national parties, through their local branches, find it expedient to conduct local campaigns on purely local issues. And alongside of them are the Citizens' Union and the City Club and several organizations in Brooklyn, each according to its light working to put the government of the city on a non-partisan basis, as far as national politics are concerned.

But municipal parties recognized as such and contending with each other for control of the local government have not yet arisen. The difficulty always is that you cannot have a fight unless you have two sides to it. Now, a body of citizens which is proclaiming civic virtue and nothing but civic virtue is not a party. It is an influence for good, but it is not a political party. The point I want to make clear is, that you cannot have a city party until you have city parties. When you have at least two parties fighting on local issues to secure control of the city government and city government has become the expression of the will of the majority on local issues, then, and not till then, you will have genuine city parties.

City Parties.

The main thing to be accomplished is to get it into the minds of the people that the city is to be governed according to their

opinion on local issues. There is no one way of accomplishing this result. Baltimore will have its methods; Chicago its methods; Boston its methods; New York its methods. And it is very probable it will not be the same method for ten years consecutively in any of the cities. But in whatever city we are working and whatever method we employ, we must keep steadily at work and never lose sight of the true end of our efforts, the real goal we are endeavoring to reach—a city government conducted according to the deliberately expressed will of the majority of its citizens on city questions.

Bad Electoral Methods.

One of the chief obstructions constantly blocking our way toward the attainment of this goal is our bad electoral methods, which require an immense amount of technical knowledge and of utterly useless and cumbrous machinery. In the old days before we had any primary law, or had even heard of the Australian ballot,—I will confine myself to only one part of the electoral method at that time—the printing and distribution of the ballots and providing ballots at the polls was a piece of enormous machinery, perfectly enormous and very expensive. It cost in the old city of New York in 1880 something like $80,000 alone just to print and distribute the ballots through the city, without counting the labor of folding your ballots. We used to sit up all night receiving the tickets from the printer, folding them, bunching them, putting them in their proper bags to go to the proper wards. When all this had been done it still remained to get them into the proper election districts in each ward. Transportation and special messengers were required for this. All this labor and expense were necessary merely to get the ballots to the polls, and there men had to be provided to receive the ballots and distribute them to voters. We saw plainly enough that this put money into politics from people who made money out of politics, and we finally secured an official ballot printed by the State and delivered within the polling place to the voters by state officials. Incidentally the new method gave us a secret ballot, which it was not before. So we got rid of the necessity of that part of the organization whose function was to print and distribute the ballot. And we thought we had made very great progress.

Nominating Machinery.

There remained another part, and a very important part, of the organization machinery. That was the nominating machinery. Now, I am not going into the details of that, of course, at this hour, but the nominating machinery is a very complex thing, and if any of you think it is easy to comply with the law with regard to nominations and to get the person that you wish nominated and to have his name put on the official ballot for the primary, try it in your several states and see if that is or is not a very difficult piece of machinery, whether it does not take not only a lot of time but a lot of money and a lot of conferences and a lot of arrangement, and whether you don't find substantially the same kind of difficulty

with your official ballot as to getting the name upon it as you did with the non-official ballot about getting the ballot at all. If we had a simple, straight-forward method of getting the names of candidates on the official primary ballot, a simple inexpensive method, and then we had the right kind of a simple direct primary, then, Mr. Paine, we would have the machinery that you want.

MR. PAINE: I think we have it in Boston, sir.

MR. DEMING: I wish I had time . . . . . (laughter).

THE CHAIRMAN: Go on. That is very interesting.

MR. DEMING: A committee of the National Municipal League devoted several years of study and reported on the nominating systems in three typical states, New York, Pennsylvania and Minnesota, and has made a report with recommendations. I have analyzed since then the New Jersey Primary Law and made an analytical report of the Colby canvass, and showed how he succeeded because of certain provisions in the primary law, and that paper will probably be presented at a future meeting of the League and I will not anticipate it now. But suffice it to say that what you want is the individual office against the slate. You want your candidate to announce a definite set of principles appropriate to the office, the nomination to which he seeks, and to announce them in advance. That simple announcement, endorsed by a very few people, should be quite sufficient to authorize a candidate's name to be on the nominating ballot, and that ballot should be on the Massachusetts principle as to the arrangement of its names and that primary (since it is not a slate that we are trying to nominate but the best man for each office, the primary being a people's affair and not a machine's affair), that primary should be open. Every man in a city election should be allowed to go into the primary and vote for a candidate for any office without thereby being precluded from voting for any candidate he likes for any other office. In Massachusetts you have the slate principle embodied. You must go to the Republican primary. You must pick out a national Republican for every city office if you are in favor of one for any office. You have no chance to be a good government man. You have got to vote for a Republican or a Democrat for every office.

MR. HART: In order to get on the ticket of one or the other of these parties?

MR. DEMING: Or to get the votes at the primaries of the members of those parties.

MR. HART: No, there is a third way.

MR. DEMING: As long as that principle lasts you won't drive the national parties out of the local sphere. I am confining myself entirely to the local sphere. Now, we National Municipal Leaguers—and it has been a foremost principle of the National Municipal League that national parties have no place in local matters—should fight for a free, open primary, not merely the Massachusetts direct primary within the Republican party, the

direct primary within the Democratic party, but a direct, open primary that recognizes no party in nominating to purely city office. That is what we must fight for. That is what our League has recommended and supported by the best arguments it can.

City Parties are Necessarily Ephemeral.

Now, just one word more about city parties. City parties are necessarily ephemeral. Necessarily. And that applies not merely to such organizations as come up from time to time under various names and work for good government, but it applies to all local political organizations organized for purely local purposes. This is because on the whole there are no permanent political issues in city government. In a city the issues on one side or the other for which you are fighting in 1900 are not the issues which are before the people in 1904. How, then, are you going to have a permanent city party with a permanent organization throughout all the wards, elaborate, expensive, and with a stable or increasing membership when issues are constantly shifting, especially if your organization does not depend either upon patronage, upon appointment to office, upon city contracts, upon franchises, or upon any of the fattening foods upon which the local branches of our national parties live. With local issues constantly shifting, we must expect that the membership of local parties will change from year to year and campaign to campaign. If we ever get the national parties out of the local fight there will always be, then, city parties, and they will be opposed to one another, according to the particular policies at that particular time competing for public favor, and to me, gentlemen, that is what ought to be, and that is the way we ought to have it. We shall then divide among ourselves upon live present-day political issues and shall not care to preserve a costly organization, because we have an organization, and with such a simple nominating method as I have described, there will be no need of an elaborate organization. You will always want an organization and want to have it effective, but you won't need an elaborate organization of the Tammany sort to nominate men to local office.

Experience of Melrose, Mass.

Mr. Charles M. Cox: Mr. Chairman, may I put in just a word to show that there are spots in the country where the Municipal League's ideas have been worked out. I live in the most recently formed city in Massachusetts, Melrose, and we very nearly have worked out the things you are talking about here. We had a Municipal League. It has gone into a comatose condition practically, because there is not much use for it. We have a referendum clause in our Constitution, which makes it a very simple matter to bring up any subject and put it on our official ballot. Our candidates do announce their policies. They actually have done the thing which you asked to have done here. They have done it for several years, on local matters I mean, and this last year we elected a Democrat,

although there are four times as many Republican voters in this city as there are Democrats. We had three candidates for mayor at our last election; only one of them went into the caucus at all—the Republican caucus. There was no Democratic caucus held. The man who was elected was elected on nomination papers, and the man who got the next highest was elected on nomination papers, which are very easily worked out.

I simply rise to say that there are spots where your ideas have been thoroughly well worked out and where the thing is doing business to-day. We are not a perfect city by any means, but still I do feel that we are a long way ahead of a lot of other places. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask Mr. Deming whether he thinks that the primary law that was passed in Massachusetts was not at least a step in the right direction.

MR. DEMING: Oh, yes indeed. You can jump forward, but you cannot get across the ditch every time. Now, an interesting illustration of that is what happened in New York in 1882. A number of us considered that we should emancipate nominations to public office from the control of the organizations, and we drew a tentative bill for that purpose and sent it up to the Legislature in conference with some very good men there. The result was the adoption of the first primary law that every appeared on the statute books of the State of New York, and the substance of it was: "Be it enacted that the regular party organizations may hereafter make such rules as they please in the conduct of their affairs, and any violation of those rules shall be a misdemeanor." That was the first result of an appeal to the Legislature. We have had in New York since 1882, I should think, twenty-eight to twenty-nine primary laws, and the Legislature passed in 1898 or in 1899 a primary law that makes a fine pamphlet. It is a code of morals for the political organizations, and it is a code of morals intended to apply to cities of different grades, and kinds and classes, and to the country, to the rural districts, and to persons who shall be allowed to be considered members of the organizations of the regular parties (not trusting the parties any longer to give the definition themselves); it provides elaborately how these primaries shall be held, at public expense and before public officials; there is a separate primary for the Democrats in a separate location, and another for the Republicans. By the way, you cannot have a primary in New York State unless you have it under the supervision of a Democratic or a Republican official, because they are the only persons in New York State who are allowed to be election officials.

New York's Primary Experience.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are they not held on the same day for both parties?

MR. DEMING: Yes, but not in the same place. It does not matter whether they are held on the same day, so long as they are not held in the same place. There is not time to go into the details of it, but it works out just in the good old way, works out beautifully; and as I say,

if you think it is a nice, easy, fair, open, above-board game to enter politics, join a regular Republican or a regular Democratic organization and fight to get a man nominated for municipal office on a non-partisan platform. Try it, and you will find it is both expensive and extraordinarily difficult. You meet with the most unexpected difficulties, that you never heard of before and that you would not have imagined could occur. Repeatedly as our primary laws have been amended and elaborate as the efforts have been to perfect them, there is so much dissatisfaction with their workings that I think if the Republicans had not been going to have a gubernatorial campaign this autumn we should have made many changes, perhaps even have enacted a good law this year. The sentiment of the cities, especially in the city of New York, was very decidedly in favor of a change. But the Republicans need the country vote and do not want to change the primary law on the eve of a gubernatorial election and inaugurate new methods which might break up the slate system of nominations.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the ballot reform that you were working for in New York, I imagine that you would stand for a pure Australian ballot without any emblem and without any party designation and the grouping of the candidates under the head of the office.

MR. DEMING: The Massachusetts form of ballot.

THE CHAIRMAN: Massachusetts has the party designation, Republican and Democratic.

MR. DEMING: The use of political designations on general election day municipal ballots stands upon a different footing from their use on nominating election (primary) ballots. At a municipal primary where the fight is, as it ought to be, between candidates competing for nomination to an office as the representatives of a certain set of principles appropriate to the office, I think there should be something on the ballot itself to indicate the platform on which the candidate seeks the nomination.

Political Designations on the Ballot.

Where a number of men are candidates for nomination to the same office, I think the voter is entitled to have the ballot indicate the policy which each candidate has announced as the one he will enforce in the conduct of the office. I think the voter is entitled to this very simple aid, and where several candidates stand upon the same platform, represent the same principle, I think the voter is entitled to know this in order that as between those who stand for the policy the voter favors, he may choose the man he prefers. At an open municipal primary such as I have been advocating, where each elector votes for any candidate for the nomination to an office without prejudicing his right to vote for any candidate for nomination to another office, and each candidate must seek the nomination on a declaration of the principles he will apply in the conduct of the office he seeks, it would seem to me entirely proper that these prin-

ciples should be indicated on the nominating (primary) ballot by some short political designation.

The present primary methods keep the machine in power, preserve its control of nominations, make the nomination for each office an item in the organization slate or schedule of nominations for all the offices. Experience proves that the separate primary does not weaken in the least the clutch of the organizations on nominations to public office. If we wish to abolish the slate, to loosen the organization's clutch, we must be willing to try other methods of making nominations than those that have for their real object, however shrewdly concealed, to make the machine predominant. If the purpose of municipal primaries is to devise an official Republican or Democratic slate upon which shall appear only organization Republican or Democratic nominees, then separate primaries are admirably adapted to accomplish the purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The reason I asked the question was that we in Cincinnati rather favor the elimination entirely of the party designation, and I think I have seen some place where it was decided, in considering that question, that it was unconstitutional; that you had to keep the name Republican or Democratic on the ballot to make it a guide. That is, we had to make laws to suit the ignorant.

MR. DEMING: Where the state requires at the general election the use of an official ballot, the illiterate voter, if the constitution gives him the right to vote, is entitled to some mark or emblem on the ballot to enable him to find the name of the man he wants to vote for.

THE CHAIRMAN: You think this point is well taken?

MR. DEMING: I think it would be generally held so.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to hear that.

MR. DEMING: But there is no constitutional requirement that the ballot should be arranged so as to favor and encourage the voting for a Republican or Democratic slate at the general election, and the constitution does not put a premium upon illiterate voting at primaries or compel illiterates to be allowed to vote at primaries.

MR. SHOLTZ: Apropos of that question, the same question of the emblem came up before the Reform League of Baltimore and its Executive Committee, and I think through their representative Mr. Howard at the Conference at Chicago, they expressed the opinion that as the Constitution did not prescribe an educational test, therefore the voter was entitled to an emblem, and it was not a question of the emblem being prescribed but the question of there being no educational test required.

MR. PAINE: I am interested in another point. Mr. Deming, I rather think, took it that I was opposed to primary reform.

MR. DEMING: Please do not think I thought that.

MR. PAINE: I withdraw my impression then. But I said something about the way it had worked in Massachusetts because it often seems as if the reforms we think are going to be such a solution have a hitch which

the politicians discover and which they use in part to turn against us, just as I said about that primary election last November, it caused us to elect the Democratic mayor instead of a good government mayor. The two primaries in Boston are held on the same date and in the same place.

Open Primaries.

You go into the primary booth and you ask for either one or the other of the primary slips and you vote on them as you wish. I understood Mr. Deming to say he thought it ought to be an open primary so that you could vote for a Democrat for the first office and a Republican for the second, and so forth.

MR. DEMING: There should not be any Democratic or Republican control as to whom we should vote for at a primary.

MR. PAINE: Quite so. The reason for that is that in Massachusetts in the old days when primaries of the different parties were in different places on different days, the wards where the one party was in a strong majority would send in its men and control the nominations of the other party, and we feel perfectly confident that with our Democratic managers there that if we had a primary where you could vote for anybody you pleased, that in many of the wards the Democrats would simply pick out the worst Republican, and so you would get two bad men.

MR. DEMING: The purpose of the present primary methods is to keep the machine in power, and those methods accomplish the purpose intended. Therefore, we must change the methods so there may be some chance of getting the machine out of power, and the more we simplify methods the less necessity there will be for the machine.

MR. PAINE: My answer is this: If I can get the people of New York calling for a policy and this policy is barred out by this machine which puts Tammany in power and crushes out that policy, I have the people behind me to win that method.

MR. DEMING: When now and then it happens that the people are sufficiently aroused about some special question of public policy, of course machine methods fail and for the time being the machine is defeated. Last autumn in New York City, for example, as to one office we disregarded all the usual electoral methods and by extraordinary efforts the people won out, yet the Legislature which was elected at the same time was so absolutely a machine product that it has done nothing whatever to better or improve our bad electoral methods, electoral methods which it was proved must be discarded in order that the popular will may find expression.

THE CHAIRMAN: We had a fight in Ohio this last winter for the purpose of bringing about the adoption of primary law, and there was a club

Cincinnati's Effort.

organized in Cincinnati called the Roosevelt Club. That was one of the principles that it stood for. Now the law there provided—the one that was drafted and submitted—that the primaries should be held on the same day, and you did have to name your party affiliations before you could

vote, and were only given one, and they thought that was a step in the right direction and were very anxious indeed to have it passed. Now, some of our friends, excellent men who were in the Legislature, declined to pass it, on the ground that they felt that it would put real primary reform back instead of advancing it, if they did pass such a bill as that. Now, I had a very interesting talk with one of the leaders of the Republican organization which was overthrown at our last election, and he told me—he said, "I am very glad indeed they are going to pass all these reform measures; that primary law will be a first-class thing for the organization to get back in on;" and I said to him, "Oh, well, I believe that the candidates will be nominated who are the representatives of the greatest number. They will take sufficient interest to go to the primaries and see they are nominated. You have been in the habit here in our local fights when you nominated in convention to round up about 20,000 voters to Republican primary. If you can get the 20,000 out—and you will be able to do so quite as easily under this primary law—why, you will be able to win, because there will be a sufficient interest among the reform element of the community to get another 20,000 out there to beat you." Now, I think that is certainly the way in which it would turn out.

MR. DEMING: That was where the primary was not held on registration day. That is a favorite trick in primary laws. That is one of the difficulties in the Massachusetts law. The primary is on a special primary day.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your plan to overcome that is to have the primaries held on the same day and the only day for registration, with the exception of a man being out of the city or sick.

MR. DEMING: The primary should be held in this way: Assuming that a state has a regular registration day or days, upon which a voter must personally register to be entitled to vote, let him immediately after registering take into the voting booth the official primary ballot, such as I have described, and mark it just as he does on general election day. Let that ballot be canvassed and counted. Let all the regulations be just the same as at the general election. And if it is a municipal primary, let it be an open primary. Let there be no separate ticket for any party or any organization. This will not get the Republican party or the Democratic party out of local political work—that is too much to expect at first—but you will abolish the slate system, and Republicans and Democrats will be elected on the local ticket, but they will get elected not as Republicans or as Democrats, but because as individuals they stand upon a previously announced platform, to which they are pledged, which platform would be appropriate to the local office the nomination to which they are seeking. I think that is the result to strive for.

Primaries on Registration Days.

MR. FREIBERG: My friend here asks if you would have the registration on the same day, with reference to state and national offices, for instance.

Would you have that all done on one registration day or have it stretched out?

MR. DEMING: If you want to preserve your strict organization primary on national issues, then let your organization Republicans and Democrats demand a Republican or Democratic primary ballot for national office, but let there be a separate municipal primary ballot and no questions asked. Let the voter take that ballot into the booth with him and mark it as he pleases. That seems to be the solution, or at least a solution.

Minneapolis.

Our National Municipal League Committee pointed out that the primaries in Minneapolis, which are just like the Boston primaries except that they take place on registration day, have been going on for years. The getting of names on the primary ballot in Minnesota is a relatively simple thing, but the elector must vote the Republican ticket or the Democratic ticket. You must vote the one or the other. You must take either the one or the other. And in the Minnesota primaries the Democrats ask for the Republican ticket and the Republicans ask for the Democratic ticket, and the Republican and the Democratic judges of election at the primary are perfectly aware that Democrats are asking for Republican tickets and Republicans for Democratic tickets. If one may judge by electoral comments upon the working of the law it is not worth while for the judges to put the voter on oath before giving him the ballot he asks for, for he always swears in his vote. Minneapolis is Republican, and the contest at the primary is for the Republican nomination. The vote at the primary in Minneapolis for the Republican contestants for the mayoralty nomination is so large that it exceeds the total Republican vote for the Republican candidate for mayor on election day by, I think, some 10,000. That is the way it works out there. In other words, as to a municipal issue, Minneapolis has, it seems to me, conclusively proved under certain conditions, of which I have not time to tell the details here, the futility of the attempt to provide for separate organization primaries held at the same time and place. And yet it works for good government there while the physically separated primaries of New York, for instance, do not. The people sacrifice everything else in Minneapolis to get the two or three principal city offices in the right hands. This shows, it seems to me, quite conclusively if the primaries are held along such lines as I have indicated, and which are set forth in more detail in the report of our Municipal Nomination Reform Committee that has been printed in our proceedings, what the probable result would be, and that the result would be for good in our municipal elections.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, gentlemen, shall we now adjourn till our next conference?

The conference then adjourned.

SECOND SESSION.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very glad to see so many ladies present at our Conference this year. This municipal problem is one the men cannot solve alone, and we want the help of the women. You are more interested probably than any one else in our children, and I want to say to you that the interest I have taken in the improvement of our city government has been due to the fact that I am the father of three children, whom I want to have brought up so that they will not go wrong.

The condition in our city government is such that when children see a man succeeding in the way that men call successful nowadays they get a wrong idea and impression of life. From all sides of our municipal government they are having put before them wrong standards, and that should be changed, and we need to have the help of the women in that regard.

We have the honor and pleasure of having with us to-day Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, and I should be very glad indeed to have her favor us with a few remarks.

MRS. BLANKENBURG: Gentlemen and Ladies: I am here officially to represent the National American Women's Suffrage Association, and at the same time I am a warm advocate of civil service reform and an earnest friend of the City Party movement in Philadelphia. In coming here to-day to make a plea for the extension of suffrage to women I do not make it on the ground that it will bring the millenium. Women are human the same as men, and have made mistakes and will make them in the future. But the plea is in harmony with our form of government, and, therefore, I make it on the ground of justice and right. Our fundamental principles are that "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and that "Government derives its just power from the consent of the governed." Now, you may ask why, as our government was organized after the Revolution, were not women enfranchised? At that time we had a property qualification, and no married woman owned a cent's worth of property, not even the clothes she wore, under the laws of the colonies. It has only been about sixty years since married women have owned property. In the state of Pennsylvania, through the efforts of women and the help of men, we have modified the laws until, with a few exceptions, women are almost as well taken care of as men, except that they are denied the right to have their opinions counted at the polls.

Woman's Suffrage.

Throughout the world there are working suffrage societies—in Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and the United States. I find the people are very ill-informed on the question of woman's suffrage.

In the Isle of Man women have had full suffrage since 1880. In England, Scotland and Ireland they have had municipal suffrage for a number

of years. In England it was granted in 1869; in Scotland, 1881; in Ireland, 1898. They also have municipal suffrage in Sweden, Norway and Iceland, and in Australia practically full suffrage in all the colonies. In New Zealand they have full suffrage. In Wyoming women have had suffrage since 1869—that is thirty-seven years. It was granted to them as a joke. Suffrage has proved to be a serious fact, however, so much so that when the territory was admitted to statehood the men said, "We cannot come in without women's suffrage," and the statehood was secured on that basis. In Colorado suffrage has existed for thirteen years; in Utah and Idaho for ten years. Kansas extends municipal suffrage to the women, and in twenty-three states they have a fragment of suffrage, or on some minor question of taxation.

We were curious, some years ago, to know how much of the tax in Philadelphia was paid by women. We had a committee examine the tax books, and ascertained that one-fifth of all the taxes paid in Philadelphia are paid by women.

Mr. Woodruff asked me to tell what women have done for municipal improvement. If we consider Wyoming, the municipal problem, as we know it in the East, does not enter into the question, as they have no large cities, and it is the same in Idaho and Utah. In Denver, Colorado, the first thing the women did—and I cite Denver because the club women there started the movement—was to secure a new ballot. A picture ballot had been used, but this did not seem dignified to the women; therefore, their first effort was to change the form of the ballot. They next, through legislative action, organized a home for young girls—a public institution to take care of delinquents. The legislation effected by the women of Colorado has been largely in the interest of women and children.

Women and Municipal Improvement.

In citing the advantage gained we find the polling places are much more respectable than they were before women voted; also that the primary meetings, instead of being held in saloons or other objectionable places, are now generally held in private houses or respectable public halls. I have visited Denver several times and have failed to find any lack of womanhood, or of gallantry on the part of the men, or any of the calamities that are said to happen where women vote. The best thing the women have accomplished in Denver is the re-election of Judge Lindsay, who is considered to be the highest type of a children's judge. He has done more to make the Juvenile Court a success than any other one person in America. The politicians of both parties—all parties in fact—decided to turn him down because he was not purchaseable and would not obey orders. The women determined that Judge Lindsay should retain charge of the Juvenile Court, so they named an independent ticket and elected him by a large majority. He told me personally, a few weeks since, that he considered he owed his election entirely to the women of Denver.

In Louisiana tax-paying women have the right to vote on new tax levies. The women of New Orleans decided not long ago that the time had arrived to have pure water to drink and better sewerage in their city. They started a campaign for a tax levy that would secure these improvements. Many of the friends of our cause worked industriously, and carried the question in the affirmative. A large amount of money was voted for this purpose, and the delays which have occurred in the development of these improvements must be attributed to the men, who handle the money, and not to the women who voted for it.

We have just had a visit from Miss Alice Henry, an Australian lady who comes from Melbourne. In conversation, I asked her, "What have your women done with the ballot—what have you done to improve conditions?" She answered, "Practically the same things as you have done here in America. Our efforts have been, mainly, directed toward improving laws affecting women and children."

The educational question is very largely influenced by women in all countries where women vote. It is an interesting fact that in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho women who are employed by the government receive the same compensation as men. I mean particularly school teachers. We have in Pennsylvania frequently gone to the Legislature and asked for an increase in the pay of our school teachers. Our legislative masters have tauntingly told us, "Ladies, you get the ballot, and then your claims will be considered." The legislators are very busy attending to the wants of their constituents, and as women are not constituents they have to wait.

This recalls an experience I recently had in Washington. Once in two years the leaders of the National American Women's Suffrage Association have a hearing in the Capitol. This year we had one, as usual, and I was, among others, assigned to address the Judiciary General Committee. We were present on time and waited half an hour before any member of the committee materialized. At last two or three of the committeemen appeared and the hearing was opened. One of the lady speakers came from the South. She had a message to the member of the committee from that section but he was not present. She made her speech and asked the chairman to convey her message to the member. Just as she was concluding the member entered the room. The chairman took him to task for being late, saying that a lady had a message for him, and asked her to repeat it, which she did. He then apologized to her, saying that his constituents in Georgia were very much troubled with cow ticks, and that the Committee on Agriculture had met and asked him to attend. He added, "I considered it much more important for me to be present at the Agriculture Committee listening to the wants of my constituents than to be at this one to hear the ladies ask for a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the franchise to women." We were

Constituents and Cow Ticks.

very much complimented, of course. His chivalry is certainly not of the proverbial Southern kind.

In going back to the countries and states where women vote, the objections of the active politicians—I should say the ring politicians and hidebound partisans—are that women are too critical about the character of candidates, and that they will not line up like sheep, therefore they cannot tell how the women are going to vote. As reformers, we should all agree that this is the proper position for women to take, and if they compel the nomination of a better class of officials than the ordinary candidates, they have accomplished much.

Stock Objections to Woman's Suffrage.

There are certain stock objections which those opposed to the extension of the franchise to women are apt to make. One of them is the propriety of adding a large illiterate vote of women to the already large illiterate vote of men. I have some interesting figures in this connection. The Commissioner of Education, Doctor Harris, of Washington, states that in 1902 statistics show that 42,013 girls graduated from the high schools of America against 23,683 boys. There were 18,333 more girls than boys graduated from the high schools. This increases each year. If you refer to official reports, the per cent of women who attended colleges and universities during the last ten years increased 159 per cent, while the male students increased only 60 per cent. It will not be long until there will be as many women graduated in all our institutions of learning as men. I claim that this country cannot afford to ignore this large body of intelligent citizens.

Some people are very much afraid to extend the franchise because the immoral woman will vote. Perhaps she may. The immoral man votes and nobody objects. But if you will examine the question closely, you will see that the women who are found to be gamblers, drunkards, thieves, robbers, or criminals of other classes are in a dwindling minority compared with men, while if you look in the jails you will find nine men to one woman; and in regard to the unfortunate woman, can anybody deny the statement that there are at least five immoral men to one immoral woman? Others object on the ground that the immigrant woman will rush to the polls and destroy our institutions. It is shown by the census that in 1902 and 1903 there were 1,031,731 men and 408,939 women immigrants; that is, 28 per cent of the immigrants were women and the balance men. Therefore I think that the woman immigrant is not nearly so formidable an objection as the man immigrant.

The Ballot, a Defense.

Working women need the ballot more than any others to defend themselves. They now occupy all avenues of industry, except that they do not serve as soldiers, sailors or telegraph linemen, and each year sees an increasing number of women earning their daily bread outside the home.

We have at this time in the state of Oregon a campaign under the

initiative and referendum, submitting the question of woman suffrage to the voters of the Commonwealth. Last December the initiative was announced. The number required was 8,035 voters, or 8 per cent. The committee in charge secured the names of 11,035 voters, the Secretary of State made the proper recommendation, and on the 4th of June a referendum will be taken.

The constant enemy, always in the field, is the liquor interest. They are ever active, and have on several occasions defeated our efforts. We recently had a campaign in California; every part of the state was carried excepting San Francisco, and there we were defeated by the liquor interest.

Woman's Help in Philadelphia.

During recent years the situation in Philadelphia had grown to be unbearable, to an extent that good citizens, men and women, became thoroughly aroused. The women have a large Civic Club, with an auxiliary called the Civic Betterment Association. The Civic Club has tried in every way to secure better municipal administration. We have, of course, the privilege of making complaints—that has been woman's privilege for years. Sometimes our complaints are listened to and attended to, but oftener they are ignored. Whether we acknowledge it or not, politics do enter our homes and are our constant, and often disagreeable, companion. The Philadelphians who have been drinking Schuylkill River water will agree with me that we have for years swallowed immense quantities of a political liquid unfit even for bathing purposes. We have politics in our gas-pipes, in our electric-wires, and the air we breathe is loaded with politically sanctioned smoke. The Pennsylvania Railroad, through Councils, largely owns the city, and this all-powerful corporation does not propose to stop the smoke nuisance unless compelled to. In the part of the city where I live the air is often so thick that one cannot see the sky. The women have held public meetings, and secured numerously signed petitions, and have appeared before City Council committees, begged and plead, but we still have the smoke. If we had the right to vote, things would be different.

The Civic Club women and the Civic Betterment women were thoroughly organized in the City Party movement, and helped the men most effectually. The men interested in reform asked us to help them, and we did all we could. Two thousand and thirty-nine women were enlisted in the campaign. When we asked, "What shall we do?" we were told, "Distribute literature, keep up the enthusiasm, hold meetings, create public sentiment, and raise money." It has always been woman's privilege to help raise money. The church debt is usually paid by the women of the congregation.

Some of our young women made a house-to-house canvass. They were asked to go into the most uncertain districts—the Third, Fifth and Seventh Wards—where things were particularly tough, and some of the women even watched at the polls. In making a house-to-house canvass we dis-

tributed literature, asked for the woman of the house, and said to her, "Will you take this and have your husband read it?" Many women were quite interested and responsive to our appeals. We wore badges and induced other women to do the same. We put out flags and urged others to follow our example. When election day came we served the election officers with a lunch and hot coffee. This seemed to be very acceptable. We did this in the November, and again in the February campaign. Recently I attended a woman's Baptist missionary banquet. Mayor Weaver was present, and said, "We have a new kind of missionary in Philadelphia—the political home missionary." He besought the women to continue their organization, as it required the help of women to keep up the enthusiasm of righteousness.

I was one of the campaign speakers, and in going around among the people and talking to them I was strongly impressed with the fact that we need a new code of political morals. We need a new conception of honesty. We want the inspiration to teach children that it is just as wrong to pick the pocket of the city and state as it is to pick a private pocket. You have no idea, unless you come to analyze it, how much depends upon the father and mother to start children right. If you think of your acquaintances, you may recall a father or mother who, perhaps, boasts in the presence of their child that they have enjoyed a free ride on a trolley car, and they justify themselves by saying, "Well, they are swindlers anyhow: they charge too much fare, and I am just glad to get ahead of them." Now, that makes a scar on the child's conscience, and when he is a man his early training may lead him to think that it is a smart thing to get ahead in the world by following, on a large scale, what his parents taught him on a five-cent trick.

A New Conception of Honesty.

We should have a decided change in our public school work, especially in the manner of teaching civic duty and responsibility. Our children ought to thoroughly understand the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the duties of citizenship. All these could be much more effectually taught if the women teachers possessed the ballot. As it is, they do not understand the importance of this work, and therefore it is largely left undone. Why not put that responsibility upon the mothers and teachers of our country, so that they may see that the children have the proper kind of instruction in the matter of civic government and the right conception of the duty of true citizenship? [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: On behalf of all present, I wish to thank Mrs. Blankenburg for her very interesting address. I wish to say, further, that if Mrs. Blankenburg is as persistent as her husband has been in the cause of reform, she will succeed some day. We all know how hard he has fought for years and years, and how long he recognized that conditions were not what they should be, and what he has striven for these long years was recently crowned with success.

We have the pleasure to-day of having with us Mr. William R. Castle, of Honolulu, and I have no doubt he has some troubles there of a similar nature to deal with, and I am going to ask him to say a few words to us on that subject.

Mr. W. R. Castle: Mr. Chairman, at a public dinner given to Mark Twain a good many years ago in New York, he arose after the formalities were over, when he was called upon to say something, and drawing a paper from his pocket commenced to read. He said it was a very great surprise for him to be called upon, and he had not expected it, and that he knew nothing about the occasion, and therefore they must excuse him if he was a little awkward about expressing his thoughts. I have not a piece of paper, but I think, without any special preparation, I can give you a few facts about matters in Hawaii which may interest you, because you will see therefrom that the influence of this League and its work has spread to that very far distant corner, that almost extreme western margin of this great Republic.

If you will allow me to trespass with a few words as to conditions: From the time of my earliest recollection of having any knowledge of political conditions, the principle of the kings and those who controlled the country under them was to make public office a reward for political services. And it is not at all surprising that for that reason the native of Hawaii who is a voter to-day, and who controls the ballot, believes that the object of public office is to reward the worker, and that if the funds are forthcoming it is of no great importance whether there is any work that is given to the people for the salary which he is paid.

Conditions in Hawaii.

When annexation took place in 1900, as might have been expected, and as the South had it at the close of the Civil War, there was a very large influx of politicians, who perhaps had run their course in this country and thought to better their fortunes by going to Hawaii and taking possession, and we were told immediately that it was now time for those who had had the jobs hitherto to stand aside and let Americans come in and show what a real American country was like. Whether we wanted to stand aside or not, we did, and we had quite a panic there for a while.

A year ago last February we organized the Hawaiian Civic Federation. We began with about thirty members. They were soon increased to about one hundred. All of the work of the Federation is put into the hands of an Executive Committee of fifteen members, which is again subdivided into committees having charge of various subjects—legislation and public offices, morals, and matters of that kind.

A Civic Federation.

Honolulu (remembering what Seward said many years ago) lies at the cross-roads of the Pacific, and for that reason we have, and we always shall have, a cosmopolitan population, and also a great deal of turbulence. Therefore, it is of the highest importance that we should have very strict

police government, and for that reason the position of sheriff or chief of police in Honolulu is one of the greatest importance.

Last year the Legislature, under the provisions of the organic act, provided for counties. We never had had county government prior to that, and perhaps you will say, as some of us feel out there, there is no great necessity for it now, as the population of the country is only about 160,000. The area is about equal to Massachusetts, there being six larger islands. Honolulu is a principal point, and is a town of about 40,000. The first election took place in June of last year. The question was asked at once, "Is the Civic Federation going to interfere with politics, or is it going to confine itself to matters of benefiting the city and attending to matters of that kind?" We said we thought, as a Civic Federation had been formed, and one of its principles was the bettering of political conditions, that we had better take a hand. We then undertook work following some of the lines of the work that have been followed in this country. We examined into the records of the various candidates. We put up none of our own. Then a committee recommended publicly certain candidates, and advised voters not to vote for some others. Thereupon, to our surprise I must confess, one of the candidates withdrew and two others were substituted, without any effort on our own part. We had no desire to put forward our own men. The Democrats nominated one of our own men for county treasurer, and another man, who is a member of our Federation, was nominated for the position of sheriff. This was the all-important position. It was the position for which the great fight was being made. There were, besides the sheriff of the county, six supervisors to be elected, a treasurer and an auditor. Mr. Trent, a member of the Federation, was the man named for treasurer. The man put up against him by the Republican party was one who would use his influence and everything he could control for the benefit of politicians.

We then entered upon a very bitter campaign, in which all of the revilings that you ever saw or ever heard of in the campaigns in this country were used. We were denounced as being politicians wanting jobs; everything that could be said of that kind was said. However, the result was that two of the men we had denounced very strongly, or rather had advised voters not to sustain, were defeated. Two good men were put in as supervisors in their place. Mr. Trent was elected treasurer by a handsome majority. But we were badly defeated in the matter of sheriff, and the successful candidate was elected by a combination of liquor saloons, gambling dens and the red light district. He was elected by a combination there that poured in unlimited coin. The result of that has been, as you can well imagine, that to-day certain gambling dens are allowed pretty free scope, and other places are allowed to run about as they please.

Our First Campaign.

Our Committee on Law and Order has its hands pretty full, and has succeeded in procuring, through one or two good juries we have had, sev-

eral convictions for violations of law that never should have occurred in any well-regulated community. We have quite a cosmopolitan population. We have newspapers issued daily in English, Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese languages, and the leading English paper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, supported the efforts of the League. Three other daily papers published in the English language fought us tooth and nail, and at the close of the election two of those papers very cordially buried the League and said that was the end of the "Civic Feds."

I was very glad to observe, however, just before I left, a few days ago, that one of the papers that had so quietly buried us was very anxiously making the inquiry whether the "Civic Feds" proposed to put forward a ticket in the fall, which is a territorial election. And there is no doubt that the Civic Federation, which is carrying out the plan of the National Municipal League, has made itself felt, and will make itself felt to a greater degree. It was also very gratifying to find that many strong Republicans, good Republicans—I don't mean by that good party men, but I mean straightforward, upright men, whose support is of great value—worked against us at that election, partly because they were whipped into the party lines by the cry of "Vote the straight ticket," and partly because they were very much afraid that in case the nominee put up by the Republican party, a Mr. Brown, for sheriff was not elected, that a still worse man, a native Hawaiian, an absolutely unprincipled fellow put up by the Democrats, would have carried the election, and the conditions would have been still worse. But many of those men have come to us now and said, "We would like to join this time, for we believe if we all pull together and make a good strong pull, we can control the election, which will take place in the month of November next."

THE CHAIRMAN: We hope the "Civic Feds" will continue the good work. I think one of the points brought out there, and which ought to be emphasized (probably most of us realize it by this time), is that in this work of reform that we are engaged in, it must be continuous and persistent. Spasmodic reform and a little effort before elections will not accomplish much. I had that illustrated very forcibly to me when we were looking about some three years ago to get some financial support for Cincinnati. When I went to one of my best friends and asked him whether he would put his name down with a number of others to contribute one hundred dollars a year for the support of our Citizens' Municipal Party, he declined to make a contribution, but has told me since, "I have been associated with so many reform movements that have been evanescent and spasmodic that I have become thoroughly disgusted; but you have demonstrated that you have got the sticking quality and that you are going to go right on with this work. You asked me for one hundred dollars three years ago and I declined; you can call on me now for five hundred dollars for anything you want." And I have had others who said the same

Spasmodic Reform.

thing. We certainly must appreciate that the dishonest politicians who are in it for profit are at work day and night, year in and year out. If we are going to counteract their efforts and their work and their schemes, we have got to sacrifice our time to this.

There are quite a number of important questions that have been suggested for consideration. We have with us a young graduate of Harvard College, who comes from Utica, New York, and I had, perhaps, better just read the question that he has put. He wants to do something there to better conditions, and he has evidently come to this meeting to find out how he can start the work, as nothing of that sort has been done there yet. He writes in this way:

The Case of the Smaller Cities.

"I would like to have discussed the case of the smaller cities of from 40,000 to 150,000 population in which little or nothing in the way of non-partisan reform has been attempted. I would like especially to hear some remarks about those cities where, while the present government is not bad enough to demand radical action, it is yet inefficient, and deserves, and receives at least, the silent contempt of the more intelligent citizens, while not receiving their suggestions or help. I think that my own city of Utica, New York, is a fair example of such cities. It seems safe to presume that there are a large number in the same condition. What does the experience of the National Municipal League suggest as the means of awakening the citizens to realize that they can make the government as good as they want it? Would reform within either of the boss-ridden parties be the best plan?"

This is from Mr. Mervin K. Hart, of Utica, New York. In a conversation which I had with Mr. Hart on the lines of the question which he asks, he wanted to know whether it would be well to start in Utica by interesting those who were connected with the Young Men's Christian Association, and whether any movement had been started in that way, and whether that would be a good way to begin. I myself did not know what had been done in that line, and I was in hopes that Mr. Woodruff would be here. Perhaps you, Mr. Deming, could assist somewhat in that way. Is there any one else here who could answer the question?

MR. DEMING: I can only say this, so far as it is a contribution, that the first thing is to ascertain the facts, and the facts differ in the different towns. But Utica must be a very remarkable town if there are not some things in it wrong enough that, if called to the attention of the citizens, will give you a starting point, and once you get a starting point and the wedge is driven in, it is remarkable how rotten you will find a great deal of timber, and then the work is laid out for you. But it seems, in the way it is put, the question is a little too abstract. Possibly Mr. Hart can tell us something about the local conditions there which he does not consider satisfactory. I think as well as he does that the individual experience of so many here from so many different places would be apt to give some suggestion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hart, let us hear from you.

MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I think I spoke of Utica as a boss-ridden city. I do not think that quite describes it. I think that what is specially noticeable is less the bossism than the apparent apathy of the people; that is, a negative tendency on the part of the people themselves, rather than a positive tendency on the part of any boss. The town is Democratic usually, but on occasion, if the Democratic candidate for mayor is particularly inferior to the Republican, the town will become Republican. So there is more or less independent voting. But the object of my question was to get some ideas of how to start an effort that would be co-ordinate with the work of this League towards securing certain reforms in the town.

Utica, New York.

Mr. Deming asked for some particular case of inefficiency. One was discovered a few months ago in the city treasurer's office. A young man was elected treasurer. When he entered office he insisted on appointing his own assistants. That was something that the politicians had not anticipated and they were very much surprised. This young man, however, went ahead and insisted that if he was to carry on his work as treasurer he must have men who were directly responsible to him and whom he could trust; and he immediately started an investigation of this office, with the result that it was discovered that some three or four hundred thousand dollars of back taxes had not been paid in the past half-dozen years. This for a town of sixty thousand people is a considerable amount. A committee of the leading bankers of the town was formed to investigate the situation further and make a special report. Through the consequent publicity, the finances of the city were placed on a much better basis, and things in the treasurer's office were a great deal better for a time anyway. But it is noticeable that it did not seem to occur to the people to investigate other departments in the city. As Mr. Deming has said, if one evil thing is uncovered it should attract attention to other things. But that does not seem to have happened in our city.

It seems to me that some such agency as would be in accord with the line of work of this League would co-ordinate the work of educating the public mind, and would go on and on from one discovery to another until finally things would be cleaned up and made a great deal better. What has concerned us most at these sessions of the League has been evils in the larger cities in this country. Those problems are certainly very interesting. But what I urge here, and would like to have some one speak about who has had experience with the League's work, is how do the League's principles apply in the smaller towns, of which there are a great many more than the larger towns, although of course the population is not so great.

MR. DEMING: Scranton has had an experience. Is Mr. Sturges, or Mayor Dimmick, who was here last night, present?

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask what the condition of the public services are there, the streets, the street paving, the transportation, the water supply, the lighting. Are they satisfactory conditions?

The Public Services.

MR. HART: The franchises have been a subject of discussion in the last two or three years, but it has been almost altogether a partisan discussion of them. The street railroad service is very efficient. It is one of the best companies in the country, I think. The water has given a good deal of trouble. The city is obliged to pay a great deal for its service, and in one or two recent fires where the water supply was very inadequate, causing great loss, there was a great deal of criticism of it.

MR. HARTSHORNE: The city does not own the water-works?

MR. HART: It does not. There has been a great deal of agitation to bring the city into possession of the water-works; but it has been of an impracticable kind and has not been productive of any results, and as I say, it has been very partisan.

They are developing the water-works so that as far as furnishing pure drinking water is concerned, it is very satisfactory. But for fire supply it is not. And the people in Utica are very much dissatisfied with the franchise under which the water company acts. One of the terms of the franchise is that on any new mains laid the city shall pay this water company six per cent for all time. I believe in the case of where an eight-inch main in a certain street was not large enough to furnish water with which to fight a certain fire, the water company intimated they would put down another main, but they would expect six per cent on the additional outlay for that new main.

MR. KELSEY: Are the charters perpetual or limited?

MR. HART: I think some of them are perpetual and some limited.

MR. HARTSHORNE: It may be of some interest to know that one reason perhaps why the water company has so successfully held its franchise may be explained by a remark which Mr. Bacot made to me once. I am not from Utica, but I know Mr. Bacot. He told me that it is a principle of the management of their company that no user of the water in the city shall be permitted to go away from their office dissatisfied, it did not make any difference what his complaint was. It is arranged with satisfaction right there. And they keep a proper account upon their books to which they charge any losses suffered through that means. I imagine if it was done by municipal authorities reasonably, there would be less cause of complaint there.

MR. HART: I think it is very possible that a good deal of dissatisfaction caused by the water-works there is not due to the company. I know it is not. But at the same time there is dissatisfaction.

But going back to the first point I brought up, I think that anybody going to Utica and meeting the different people there and looking over its

institutions would be surprised at the indifference that most of the people show to the city's welfare. If one political party puts up a poor man for mayor, as it usually does, the other political party will not take advantage of the situation by putting up a better. They will invariably put up a poor one, and usually a poorer one. And the choice for mayor is invariably the choice between two evils. Now, how is that to be got at?

MR. RICHARDSON: How are the newspapers?

MR. HART: There is one principal Democratic and one principal Republican paper. The Democratic one is more ably edited, I think, than the Republican, but both are partisan. The Democratic one is almost always Democratic.

MR. RICHARDSON: Do the two machines work together?

MR. HART: Well, it would seem so on some occasions. I have heard it openly said that it was so. One machine is worked by a man who has served time in the penitentiary. He is a very bright, capable man, and has the reputation of never having broken his word since he got out of the penitentiary.

MR. RICHARDSON: That is his stock in trade.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Is there no indication of a movement for independent action, independent of the machine?

MR. HART: Yes. One thing I wanted to bring up is the Hearst movement in New York. In each Assembly District in the State I think they expect to start a subsidiary organization—the Independence League.

MR. HARTSHORNE: But is there no incipient civic organization whose aim is good government, independent of political parties?

MR. HART: There is none whatever.

MR. REED: Has that committee of bankers been disbanded or discontinued?

MR. HART: Disbanded.

MR. REED: No way of reviving that?

MR. HART: Yes, but those men are all very busy men.

MR. REED: That is the kind to have.

MR. HART: Yes, but I think they are really men who could not take on much more.

MR. DEMING: Well, tell me how many young men in the town are there who are interested in this subject. Are there a dozen?

MR. HART: Yes, I should think there are.

MR. DEMING: Then you have got your movement. You are right there on the spot. You have got a dozen bright young men with brains, who want to find something to do. Get round the table and talk it over, and talk over the local conditions, and make a start at a mark and miss it, and then start again and then again, and pretty soon you get a bull's-eye.

MR. HART: That is it. But within the party or outside?

"Hang the Party!"

MR. DEMING: Oh, hang the party!

MR. RICHARDSON: You will be swamped in the party.

MR. DEMING: You will work within the party in our New York primary law, and that means you are strangled to begin with, and then you are embalmed.

MR. HART: Of course, the local conditions in each case have to govern what shall be done. I might say I have heard some of the best men in the town, men who realize the situation as much as any one, say that they think reform within the party is the only way to go about it.

MR. DEMING: You try to reform that belief as soon as possible.

MR. ROEDER: Beside placing emphasis on the advice just given to Mr. Hart as to the "hanging of" the party—I think that ought to be done anyway—the thing that will prevent making a serious mistake will be to become thoroughly acquainted with the facts, and that is done by a careful investigation of how things are done, and if the city prints any report, get a few of those reports and compare them. The first thing you will find will be differences in expenditure for certain things. They will be spending more money this year than the other year for some things, and that will bring out all sorts of things. But get your facts first, even if it takes a year, so that you become thoroughly familiar with the situation in the town, and what is good and what is indifferent and what is bad. And then the facts will suggest the next thing.

MR. DEMING: If the decent men would take a course in civics for a year and do it with the same thoroughness that Mr. Hart did his course in Harvard, at the end of the year they will have a dozen experts on conditions and will know where to start. That preliminary work is always essential. In the big cities the evils are of such magnitude that they blow up the manhole and there is an explosion, and buildings are crushed and there is a headline in the newspapers, and then people take hold; but in the smaller cities the evils are of the same sort, and there are just as many of them, but there is not as much of any one evil ordinarily as is sufficient to make a sensation, and that is the difficulty you are laboring under. But if you will take a local course in civics you will find you have got the material, and when you have got the material, then you have got more than a text, you have got an infinite number of telling sermons. And you will become newsy, and you will find the newspapers will print a good deal of what you say, and you presently do an effective job, and then somebody will pay attention to you, and then they will begin to believe you, because you are doing something, and then the movement is on. But don't think you are going to do it in a month or two. You may be a year or two at it, and it may be six or seven before Utica will respond, but it will respond if you persist and not attempt to do it on the Chatauqua plan by attempting to learn everything by attending a course of lectures.

MR. KELSEY: As one from the city of Orange, New Jersey, a city smaller than Utica, and having gone through a little practical experience in the past year, what we have learned may possibly throw some light upon the question which confronts our friend from Utica. In a measure, the

answers that have been made to his inquiry are in accord with our experience here—first, as regards public apathy; and second, in regard to the proposed remedy. We have found that devotion to party works both ways, and that results are accomplished by making contests inside as well as outside the party.

In the very fine statement made by Mr. Deming last evening of Mr. Colby's success in our county, he called attention to the fact that Mr. Colby made his first fight inside the party lines as a Republican, and won out by a vote of nearly two to one with the electorate of Essex County, where there are about thirty thousand votes polled. Mr. Colby received about twenty thousand votes.

In regard to the press, we found that the press follows rather than leads in a great many of these undertakings.

MR. DEMING: That is very important to remember.

MR. KALISCH: We in New Jersey had been asleep for twenty-five or thirty years, while some of our most important municipal business was being undertaken. It was being accomplished by the class of men to whom reference has already been made—men having no special training or grasp of the great possibilities of our growing municipalities, and men, too, at the same time under the control or domination to a very large extent of the political bosses. Then, too, we have labored under a disadvantage which our friends in Utica did not have to contend with.

New Jersey.

We have in our community, in the Oranges, a very large contingent of the population who do business in New York and Philadelphia and sleep in New Jersey. That is an unfortunate situation. In Utica the bankers and lawyers and merchants and the manufacturing men are all there and have their homes and places of business there. We have in our community a large contingent of men who are the most competent to deal with these municipal questions but whose interests are outside the State during the day and when they come home at night the slippers and smoking-jacket act as irritants and civic matters frequently are the last questions to receive consideration.

That was one of the conditions with which we had to deal. And we started in about a year ago with the community asleep on one of the most important questions in our great growing municipalities—the granting of franchises. And the suggestion that has been made by Mr. Roeder, one of the most effective workers in this direction, perhaps in the State or in the country—his suggestion of first obtaining the facts was just what we did there. We went to work and we looked up the facts and we found that in the granting of one of the franchises for one of our main avenues, which was needed for a parkway, for which and for the park system the people had voted, the Legislature had passed the necessary laws and the electorate had voted an appropriation of more than five million dollars—that one of

Obtaining Facts.

those great connecting parkways, in spite of all protest, was to be given over to the corporations for traction purposes under a perpetual franchise and for merely nominal compensation.

That was the situation, and we found that our protests were in vain. We went before the different governing boards and showed them that on a nearby parallel short street railway line, there had been issued for each mile of track over one million dollars of securities—more than six millions of bonds and fifteen millions of stock; which, as I stated in my paper read yesterday, indicated clearly enough the reason why these men were in authority, and why those back of them and the political bosses representing the corporations were deaf and blind to all our appeals.

What was the result? In January, 1905, in the New England Society of Orange, it was my privilege to introduce a resolution asking the Legislature to amend our laws so that no franchises could be granted in perpetuity, and limiting all franchises to terms not exceeding twenty years.

Limited Franchises.

The point I wish to impress upon our friends in Utica is, that up to that time the question, as a practical proposition, of limiting franchises in the State of New Jersey had, so far as we could learn, hardly been suggested. We got the facts. We printed those facts, and when I presented the matter to the New England Society there was immediately appointed a committee, of which it was my privilege to act as chairman. We formulated the facts, prepared a bill for the Legislature, and when we took the bill to Mr. Colby, one of our members who was then in the Assembly, providing there should be legislation enacted which would limit all utility franchises to twenty or twenty-five years, Mr. Colby said he would take the bill, which he did, and soon introduced it. The memorable contest Mr. Colby made in the Legislature at Trenton last year, and so well described by Mr. Deming, was the direct result.

Now, without going into detail, I wish to come to the practical results. These facts as to the wrongs of perpetual franchises were published in a pamphlet by the New England Society on the recommendation of our committee, copies of which were sent to the press—every paper in the State—to the Governor and to every member of the Legislature, and about five thousand were distributed in New Jersey. The ball had been set rolling. It had started from that individual initiative. The result was that the usual corporation influences in the Legislature prevented the passage of our bill. Finally, there was a state commission appointed to report on this class of legislation. It was a sop to public opinion. The members were known as "corporation men." Before that commission could report, those of us interested in this movement in Essex County continued at work. Mr. Colby made his canvass in Essex County within the lines of the Republican party, directly upon that issue of limited franchises; although embodying with it the questions of equal taxation, which is another expression

The Colby Campaign.

for describing the system of taxation of the railroads in New Jersey, which for years has not paid their fair share of taxes. The franchise question was the great issue, and when the ballots were counted after the election in November it was found that Mr. Colby and the eleven Assemblymen from Essex County had been, upon that issue, elected by a vote of about two to one. In Hudson County that honest man, Mayor Fagan, of Jersey City, who had been for two years contending for equal taxation, had also by direct appeal to the electorate won out, in spite of the political bosses, and in spite of all these special influences which the corporations, through the agency of the party bosses of both political parties, know so well how to exert. When the facts were established in the minds of the voters, all the supposed legislative barriers melted away just like snow before the heat of summer. The sequence was that in the Legislature of 1908, which has just adjourned, the principle of minimum franchises swept through the Legislature by unanimous vote. It was all accomplished within a year. The Governor woke up and came out in his message, after the Colby and Fagan victories, and he, too, became a "reformer," notwithstanding he had sat in the State Senate for years and had always been actively identified with the adverse corporation interests, apparently asleep all the time. We found—and I think our friend in Utica will find, without taking the time for further details—that if you, sir, will take this very instance you have related of defalcation or misappropriation, make your own investigations, get at the facts, coördinate the facts, and say to the people of Utica that municipal business is a business, nothing more and nothing less, and in order to transact that business properly it must be done on correct business principles; that it is not Democratic, Republican, Socialistic nor political, but that it is business—the moment that you get that idea before the majority of the people, and you present those principles to the electorate as was done in Essex County, and as Mark Fagan did in Hudson, you will win. While the politicians were talking, the candidates of Essex and Hudson counties representing this movement were speaking direct to the voters. Just as soon as you can get the underlying facts fairly before the electorate you will capture a majority every time, and the politicians and the press will then turn in and help you. There is no mistake about this. There has been no greater surprise in our State to those of us who are merely active citizens contending for good government than this fact, and Mr. Colby told me within a week that he himself was surprised. We expected the adverse influences which had been so powerful in Trenton and in those cities where millions of dollars' worth of public utility franchises had been given away under the condition would somewhat potent to prevail. We were told—I was told personally as chairman of our committee—"Why, Mr. Kelsey, you can do nothing. These men have the money; they have great prestige. They are influential in the churches. They have society. They control all the main-springs of capital, and you are powerless and helpless." My answer was, that "one

thing we are not helpless in—we can get the facts before the honest people of the State, and we will then leave the question for them to determine." And the result has been, as I have stated, that from the Governor down to the man that sweeps out the City Hall, all fell into line, and every one has been perfectly surprised that this limited franchise question there, was, within a year, determined and enacted into law, as was the question of more equal taxation of the railroads. Under the present law just passed, the railroads in the State will pay over three millions of dollars more than they have been taxed heretofore, showing the important issue involved in the equal taxation proposition. The bill to carry out the plan proposed a year ago to limit by law the granting of all public utility franchises, as recently passed, provides that no franchise for the utilities can be granted in the State by any municipality for longer than twenty years, unless by vote of the people effected the time may be for a longer period, not exceeding forty years. This is almost as radical as the legislation of Illinois, which provides that no franchise can be granted for a longer term than twenty years. And this result in New Jersey, accomplished within a year, a surprise to everybody, and yet perfectly simple!

Results Accomplished.

The great majority of people are honest. The great mass of people want things right. They want their city government right and their state government right and their national government right, and when they get facts before them, coördinated in shape so that they cannot be controverted nor answered, they will take care of all the rest. You need not worry about the methods. That is the fundamental principle, the wedge that opens the way to improved laws. It has been our experience. Isn't that correct, Mr. Roeder? That is the whole story. That is the whole of it. You don't need any academic directions about it. It is a simple and practical question. The people will right the wrong, if you show them what those wrongs are, and show them how it can be done. They will take care of the rest, and as I said, you will find the press, you will find the politicians, even men you least expect, following your lead. Why, the men down in the Legislature who voted for limited franchises and for equal taxation this year were men who were perfectly conversant with the conditions, and had been for years, and whose business it was to stand up in the Legislature and say, "Gentlemen, this thing is wrong and we cannot stand for it"—instead of which they sat there and did stand for it for years; yet when the electorate woke up to the fact that there were wrongs that must be righted all the Senators and Assemblymen came into the fold, and the bills were passed by unanimous vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have the pleasure of having with us this afternoon one who has devoted considerable attention to this subject and is interested in this work as connected with the universities. I am going to ask Professor Kent to say a few words to us on this, and also in regard to the municipal betterment work which he is interested in, in New Haven.

PROFESSOR KENT: Mr. Chairman, I came as an interrogation point rather than with a communication. I am convinced from something of a study—a very superficial study—that there is perhaps most hope in the colleges. There we ought to be able to command the instructor. I have a strong suspicion from contact with college men that in the next decade we are going to draw many, not only from Harvard, like Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Hart, but a large body of men with enthusiasm and the spirit of devotion, who will go out from our colleges thoroughly trained by one or more courses, given by men of wide experience, that will enable them to take up these questions just about where Mr. Hart will begin, as he goes back to Utica with the information that he has gained here from the study of conditions elsewhere. I see absolutely no reason why, if this National Municipal League puts the emphasis on this need, the colleges are not able and will not respond. I know that at Yale we have a course intended to meet this need. It is a course given by Professor Bailey on social conditions. I think he has between a hundred and fifty and two hundred men.

The Hope in the Colleges.

MR. DEMING: Nearly three hundred.

PROFESSOR KENT: Yes, you have looked up the facts. It is a growing course, and I imagine that the number will double again.

MR. DEMING: I think it is the history of the course that it has been shifted from one room to another until now the classes are given in the largest lecture room you have.

PROFESSOR KENT: That certainly is a significant index.

MR. DEMING: That is in the course of five years. The first year he had twenty students. That shows what a good teacher Professor Bailey is.

Yale's Course.

PROFESSOR KENT: As a colleague and friend of Professor Bailey, I may say that he is an excellent teacher, and yet it is not Mr. Bailey primarily, it is the subject that interests the student. I think we have a strong civic interest and spirit at Yale, but it is not confined at all to Yale, and what is more significant still, this course is not selected by the floaters, but the course is selected, if I am rightly informed, by the strongest men in the academic department, as a rule by those who have the broadest outlook, the elite of our college community, the men who select it, not because it is a snap, but because it means work and it means equipment for something beyond. At this present moment, I may say in this confidential conference that while the course perhaps was viewed a little askance by some of the older professors, I think Professor Bailey is now conscious of having the full support of the Yale faculty. We hope to develop the course still further and to give Mr. Bailey complete freedom in a short time to devote himself to this one course and its ramifications, with a view to training men for efficiency in dealing with civic conditions.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish you would speak about the town meetings.

PROFESSOR KENT: Possibly it might be opportune at this time, because it does suggest some practical answers to Mr. Hart's questions, although we cannot come with such results as Mr. Kelsey reports. The fight is still before us. We have only made a beginning. We may have a different story a year from now. We are still dealing with the question of apathy. We are all agreed that the most fundamental problem which confronts the cities of moderate size in New England, or rather in the East, is the question of the apathy of the good citizens in regard to matters of civic interest.

New Haven, Conn.

MR. ———: And in the West, too.

PROFESSOR KENT: I think that in some ways the West is ahead of us.

PROFESSOR KENT: I think that it is perhaps a little exaggerated in New Haven, although we all come prepared to report that our town is the worst. I won't stop to analyze the historical causes that have produced existing civic conditions in New Haven. What stirred us up a few years ago was a series of assaults in the best residence portion of the town. It aroused the town. Of course there came a police investigation, which presented some rather alarming facts. A Citizens' League was formed. It was a citizens' league made up of the best citizens, but that was its handicap. They represented the solid conservative class in the community, but there was too much inertia. It didn't seem to get into the battle. It was timid. Some of us tried to push all we could, but when it came to the election of a mayor and the real, vital issue of the campaign, the recommendations of the League were not very clear and definite. The result was that the machine succeeded in putting the League away out of the race, and the mayor was re-elected with an increased majority. A general distrust of the League was aroused. It was called a kid-glove movement, and the trouble was that the imputation was in part true.

We have a political ring that is excellent in its efficiency in delivering votes. Mr. Steffens calls it one of the smoothest machines in the country. It does not show its head very often, and the citizens have been contented to let bad enough alone.

Last February my neighbor on the left, Mr. De Forest, and Mr. Haynes, a leading pastor in the city, who has had considerable experience in Denver and Chicago, and myself, while lunching together, suggested that something ought to be done, and that the simplest way was to go ahead and do it. We also said, "The first thing is, by education, to arouse public interest," and so we arranged with the treasurer of Yale to secure our largest hall (which seats between two and three thousand). We then sent out a call to 125 societies, including the business men's and charitable organizations, the civic leagues, the churches, and other religious organizations, in fact to all the representative non-political organizations, leaving strictly alone, of course, the Republican Club and other clubs of kindred nature. Practically all sent representatives, and we propounded

The New Haven Mass Meetings.

the plan of holding a series of mass meetings in which we would consider conditions in New Haven and learn to benefit by the experience gained elsewhere. Our program was to have prominent speakers from other states and cities. I may say in this connection that we have not as yet carried out our original program, for conditions have arisen since which have changed them. Our first meeting, which was held in the beginning of March, was addressed by the mayor of New Haven, and we took up the general subject of coöperation in civic betterment. Our mayor is generally regarded as a very good figure-head for the machine. We asked him to speak on what the administration was doing for civic betterment. He read a long paper, consisting chiefly of statistics, stating how the city's money had been spent! The practical value of the address lay in the fact that the main question was significantly left unanswered. Dean Rogers, the former president of the Northwestern University and at present head of the Yale Law School, next discussed the ring rule versus representation by the people. He gave a most incisive treatment of the subject, which was later published in all the city papers and aroused widespread comment. There was also an address by a representative of the Women's Civic Club, taking up existing conditions and suggesting what should be done. This first meeting certainly was a success in bringing together at least two thousand of the citizens of New Haven, who listened with keenest interest for two hours to the discussion of these subjects.

The next meeting, which was held within two weeks, was devoted to the making of citizens in school and college. We had one of the professors speak briefly on the subject of making citizens in the college, and Superintendent Maxwell, of New York, gave us a most admirable address on what the public schools are doing. This meeting was so crowded that people were kept standing in the rear of the hall for lack of seats—excellent evidence that apathy is beginning to disappear.

Of course, this is only a beginning. Our movement began a year and a half before the election; in fact, we said we would not begin in the heat of a campaign, but that what was needed at once was an educational movement. The first thing was to learn to work together and to acquaint ourselves with conditions in New Haven. Our program of bringing other speakers from away is still before us. We will leave that for next year. We are moving towards the specific and concrete, although, because of the nature of its organization, our movement must necessarily be simply educational—that is, as far as the associated societies is concerned. We must deal with principles and measures rather than put a candidate into the field. We do hope, however, in future elections to ask the different candidates to tell us definitely what they will do for New Haven and civic betterment. Our future policy must take form in the light of events. We should like to have suggestions as to the practical way in which the good

citizens can deal with the definite problem which we have in New Haven. There is no doubt but there is some corruption and a high degree of inefficiency. On the other hand, there is no doubt but the majority of the citizens, if they would only come out and vote, could carry the town for good government. There is also no doubt but men could be found to man the city offices and give us an efficient administration. We hope later to take up the subject, to be presented by our citizens who have had experience, "The Disadvantages and Advantages of the Boss System," and have it discussed on the platform before our citizens, that they may form their own deductions as we approach the time of election.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you any idea he will accept the invitation?

PROFESSOR KENT: I don't think so. I think it would be very effective to ask him to do so, and have him refuse. At the close of our last meeting we found a thousand people waiting to ask questions, and for an hour questions were poured in. We propose to keep this up. Really, we feel that this is in many ways a revival of the old New England town meeting, with modifications. Of course, it has to be put on a large platform, we have to use the largest hall in town, but we want to bring politics out of the back doors of saloons and put it on a clean platform, and have the University, the town and gown unite.

Asking Questions.

It is still only an experiment. It was, perhaps, the quickest way of bringing together all those who wish for betterment in civic conditions. The vital question before us was, "How can we arouse interest and begin educating all those who really, if they stop to think a moment about it, want good government and are willing to work for the best interests of the city?"

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you a city club there?

PROFESSOR KENT: We have a Citizens' League.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you rooms—a meeting place?

PROFESSOR KENT: It has met hitherto at the Lawn Club. It has no regular room. We also have a non-partisan municipal league. The two leagues unfortunately supported different candidates in the last election. The present movement is bringing them together, and yet neither of the leagues is broad enough in their organization and membership to touch all the citizens, and their organization is such that I do not think they ever can. If we are going to have any organizations that will unite all well-minded citizens it must be a citizens' party or some broader basis of union. I don't think either of these clubs, if they should join hands, with their present membership would carry the city.

Civic Organizations.

MR. RICHARDSON: I was going to ask Professor Kent whether he has read a book which has been recently written by a prominent member of the National Municipal League, the secretary of the Municipal League of Los Angeles, entitled "City Government for Young People." It seemed

to me a most excellent book for beginning the development of young citizens in schools and colleges.

PROFESSOR KENT: I am familiar with the book. My neighbor Mr. De Forest has read it carefully and reviewed it, and we have strongly recommended it to our Superintendent of Public Schools. I may add that, as the outgrowth of our last meeting, we are planning to organize a citizens' committee to take up the use of public schools in the way of lectures, as in New York, of meeting for clubs, as library distributing centers; in other words, to make this movement of practical value to the citizens and thus gain a still further hold upon their confidence. We also find the teachers in the public schools are thoroughly interested in this whole movement.

Colleges and Betterment.

MR. FREIBERG: I am sorry to hear of the chaotic condition in New Haven. It is too bad that Yale has not been able to act upon political conditions in New Haven more than it has. It would be interesting to me to make comparisons with Cambridge. We have been hearing a good deal at the sessions of this League with reference to the fact that Cambridge is one of the best governed cities in the world, and I have not any idea but what that is caused by the presence of Harvard College, which happens to be my college. I haven't any idea but that this question of the position of the colleges on the subject of political reform is one of the most important subjects that ought to engage the attention of the League. We have had many instructive books and papers from Mr. Gill on the subject of the school city, but I believe that has reference more particularly to the instruction in civic and constitutional matters in public schools.

It was a very discouraging thing to us engaged in reform work in Cincinnati—it has been for many years—to note the fact that the young fellows coming back from Harvard, and more particularly Yale, did not seem to take the interest in public affairs that was to be expected of men with the opportunities and the training that they have had, and it is particularly discouraging in these latter days to find men of the prominence of President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft, both of whom are old college men, to find that these men are going to the boys and telling them not to be too stringent in upholding the ideals of their college, the ideals of their young life.

But it is not so much the courses of instruction in the colleges that are important in fashioning young men's minds in the direction of civic efforts as it is the general spirit and *esprit de corps* among the students and among the professors. It is of the highest importance, I should think, that men of experience who come back to the college after contact with political and public life should be very wary in making their speeches to the students not to introduce into their talks too much of this practical color. Young men in college are pretty sensible. They have their own

problems to deal with, as Mr. Hart will bear me out, in the college itself, as to class organization, etc. But it is undoubtedly true that men who are about to go out into life will take their authorities from their elders, especially from men who have attended their own college.

I was very much grieved when President Roosevelt, who undoubtedly meant well, made a speech in which he told the boys that it was all very well to have ideals and to study these things theoretically, but they must find when they get out in life it will be necessary to face cold, hard facts, and make compromises. Life is a series of compromises. In a superficial sense that is true, but in the really true sense that is not true. There is only one way to accomplish things in the line of civic reform, and that is not to make compromises. [Applause.]

Compromises.

We have been hearing a great deal of talk about the "muck rake" in the last few weeks. I sincerely trust that Harvard and Yale and other colleges will continue to turn out muck-rakers, who began, I think, in 1880, the year that President Roosevelt graduated from Harvard. There has been an attempt within the last month, perhaps as late as the last month, on the part of Secretary Taft and President Roosevelt to make it appear that a reaction has already set in against the spirit of exposure and of political uplifting that has overtaken the American people during the past year. I think there is not anything more dangerous than that sort of talk. The reaction has not nearly begun to set in. It is undoubtedly true—every sane man knows that criticism, if indulged in too frequently, becomes sometimes unjust, and that there is a great tendency on the part of the best men, who become tired and jaded at their work, to run into extremes and to say things sometimes without the keenest sense of justice. That is true of any kind of work.

The Muck Rake.

There will be defects in any kind of reform work, but that defect is not half as serious as the other defect which is all-embarrassing, of saying nothing and letting things go on as they are. For that reason, it seems to me, at this time it is a very, very unfortunate thing indeed that men of great public standing should take it upon themselves—I won't say to forward their own ambitions—but to take it upon themselves to assume to tell young fellows especially that they must be very careful in their criticism. We have been very much too careful in the last twenty-five years in our criticisms.

PROFESSOR KENT: Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to take up more of your time, but this point seems to me so fundamental that I would simply like to re-emphasize it. It seems to me that the spirit of compromise is the greatest menace to the efficiency of the college man in civic service that confronts us. It cuts all the ground out from under a man's enthusiasm. I wish as a League we could deal with it. It comes not only from men in public life, but the members of our college faculties are not always in

agreement. Some teach one thing and some another. I do think, in connection with what has been said, and also on the basis of observation, that if we can present the right ideals, and keep these clearly before the student-body, that a very large number of efficient men in the next ten years should go out from our colleges to do what you and I cannot do, except as we work on the edge of the matter, to do what Colby has done in New Jersey, what Kent has done in Chicago, what Vance McCormick has done in Harrisburg, what Mr. Pendleton has done in Cincinnati. We could already make the list a long one; but we want it far longer, and when it is longer we shall feel that this movement is not sporadic, but permanent.

Compromise.

Anything which mixes up the clear ideal of what is right and wrong in the tangle of compromise seems to me to be a deadly menace. College men are conservative. We speak of them as enthusiastic. They are on some things, but college men are exceedingly conservative on a vast number of subjects, far more than perhaps some of you who graduated twenty years ago believe. There is nothing that daunts their energy and enthusiasm more than something which appeals to their conservatism. It is an evil which we must begin to correct, especially as that conservatism holds them back from doing what they could do. I wish we could develop the *noblesse oblige* motive, for it is a strong one. It will break down that conservatism which makes for inaction. It will give us the men who must take up the work and carry it to the finish.

MR. ALDEN FREEMAN: There is one matter that has not been brought up at the conferences which I have attended. It was called to my attention last night by some remarks of Mayor Dimmick, of Scranton, in which he said that he ran at the Republican primaries, and that of course if he had been defeated that would have been the end of his campaign. Well, that is very true of those who are ardent partisans. I am not, but I believe that it is very important at this time that we should have the "good loser." This was the expression that Lincoln Steffens used in a letter to me the other day, and I think it necessary to bring forward the idea of non-partisanship in municipal affairs, and that certain men should be willing to sacrifice themselves for the principle until it becomes acknowledged.

The East Orange Plan.

Now, our town of East Orange is Republican five to one, and yet I myself had this experience last fall. We brought forward what became known as "The East Orange Plan." We held our Citizens' Union meeting as a town meeting, and we asked everybody to come. We nominated candidates, and we ran these candidates in each of the party primaries. At that meeting we prepared the nominating papers for use in case our candidates were not nominated by either party. This was quite experimental. I don't know whether it has been done anywhere else. But in the Second Ward of East Orange, where our Citizens' Union was

started, the candidate we brought forward received the nomination in the Republican primary, and also in the Democratic primary, and as at that meeting he received the Citizens' Union nomination, he was elected unanimously. I received the Democratic nomination, receiving nine votes while my opponent, who was the chairman of the City Council, received one. That gave me the Democratic nomination. I had the Citizens' Union nomination, and I came within seventy votes of receiving the Republican nomination. I ran in my ward because there was nobody there who dared to run against this man, and I expected I would get about twenty-five votes. I simply ran on principle. I did not stop running because I did not get all the nominations at all the primaries of these parties, which to me represent simply names which are employed by various business interests in our country, to accomplish their ends in the city council, and in the county board of freeholders, or in the state legislature. So I kept right on running. I had the Democratic nomination. I had the Citizens' Union nomination, and then my Republican friends prepared what they called a petition for independent Republicans, and to my very great surprise, I came within thirty-three votes of going to the City Council.

If we want this idea of non-partisanship in municipal government to prevail we must keep on running after the primaries, and must stand for the principle, whether there is any show of our being elected or not. I want to say that I gave both machines in my ward, the Democratic and the Republican machines, a very bad scare.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sumerwell, won't you say something to us bearing on this question, and also the work you are engaged in?

MR. E. K. SUMERWELL: Mr. Chairman, the New Jersey contingent, I feel sure, will all unite with me in expressing our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us on this occasion by the National Municipal League. I am sure we all thank you very sincerely for an opportunity to attend and take part in not only this conference, but the meetings of the League proper. And we shall take back with us a new fund of information, a new store of courage for whatever lies before us in the work which we are undertaking to do in the State of New Jersey along the lines indicated to you in the addresses we have had.

The point that I have been asked particularly to refer to to-day is, however, an experience we are having in New Jersey which may be helpful elsewhere along the lines of the coördination of forces. As I have sat here listening to the experiences of New Haven, and the proposed experience in Utica, I have been strongly impressed with the idea that their problem is identical with our own and that they may profitably take a leaf from the book of New Jersey in this respect; that while the National Municipal League and similar national bodies have, of course, a grand function, and their meetings are of the greatest inspiration and value, there is another unit not so large as the nation where in reality the practical working out of this problem of civic reform may specially lie. I refer to the state.

The cities of the states are really governed from the capitals of the states. We in New Jersey are almost helpless to make any effective civic reform, except through the activities of our friends at Trenton. In Utica, I feel sure Mr. Hart will not have progressed very far before he finds it necessary to make pilgrimages to Albany, and I have no doubt in the State of Connecticut the same situation will obtain. There is then a community of interest between the civic reform work in the different cities of a state, and while we profit greatly by the intercourse with our friends from other states, it does occur to me that in the State of New Jersey, through our New Jersey State Civic Federation, we are working out a form of coöperation which it may be very valuable to consider elsewhere.

The Importance of the State.

In working out the water problem, for example, we found it necessary to deal with other localities, from which we would derive our water supply. The city of East Orange has gone to another township to get its water supply. We get legislation from Trenton to assist us in all of these matters. Now, through the New Jersey State Civic Federation, we have learned to know each other, we have learned to know the associations throughout the rest of the State, and have laid a foundation for better work yet to come, and it strikes me that it may be helpful to our friends in Connecticut and our friends in New York to look about them in their own states and find the other clubs which are already at work, and if they find, having organized their own club, that they can become affiliated with the other clubs of the State in a State Civic Federation, they will have very great benefit from the interchange of views and experiences, and then they will be able to go to their State Legislatures with an appeal that will be very much greater than any community can muster. In such an organization they will be able to hold neighborhood meetings. Under the auspices of the State Civic Federation in New Jersey we can get together in a meeting, which will not of course include representatives from every local club in the State, but from a respectable number, and in that meeting we can discuss the same problems that we discuss here, and discuss them more frequently, perhaps more at our leisure. And we can focus our attention upon the matters which are of especial interest to us in the special state under consideration. Those suggestions I take the liberty of offering here in the hope that they may be of some value to our friends in other states, and if at any time any of you should desire data in respect to the operations of a state organization of this character, Rev. Adolph Roeder, of Orange, our president, or I, will be only too happy to furnish the literature which we have and to explain our methods more in detail.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have about reached the hour for adjournment, and I think you will all agree with me that we have had a very pleasant afternoon and a very instructive meeting.

The Round Table Conference then adjourned.

The Chairman read the following extracts from letters received in response to his inquiries:

FROM JOHN A. BUTLER, ESQ., MILWAUKEE.

"The Round Table Conference can be made a success by giving a general idea of the obstacles to reform in this city, and the progress that has been made; and, finally, by calling attention to the means by which a full measure of good government may be eventually established. We are very fortunate in Milwaukee in the possession of a comprehensive merit system of appointments. The Fire and Police Boards were placed on the merit basis many years ago, and the local Municipal Association secured legislation somewhere in the 90's which placed several thousand men under the Board of Public Works on the same basis, so that government is as much better as the abolition of patronage can make it. The advantage is probably greater than is generally realized. Nevertheless, the city government has been almost hopelessly corrupt in its legislative branch for many years. To correct that condition, or perhaps better, to demonstrate its existence, a large number of aldermen have been indicted and convicted through the efforts of what is known as the Committee of Ten; but the history of the Tweed convictions in New York indicates pretty clearly that the effect of such convictions, without any further remedy, is only temporary and partial. In this case it is hoped that they will lead to the adoption of more searching remedies, which were urgently recommended before the prosecutions were begun, and which were undoubtedly underestimated for political reasons, and because the people had not been sufficiently educated to realize their value. The passage by the Legislature of a primary election law appears to be of great advantage in our city elections. Old familiar ring politicians are less conspicuous, there being no city conventions with purchaseable delegates at their disposal. The present city government, recently elected, is therefore, to a very considerable extent, the result of popular choice, and the improvement in the quality of the new aldermen is believed to be marked. A conspicuous diminution of party feeling is also noticeable among the newly elected officials, who seem to realize their responsibility to the voters at large. This feeling is intensified by the conspicuous tendency to independent voting in the election itself, indicated, for instance, by the election of a Republican mayor and the re-election of an excellent Democratic city treasurer. Heretofore railway and traction companies have controlled convention nominations through ring influence. Their power is not wholly broken, but it appears to be deprived of some of its weapons.

Milwaukee.

"The prosecution of indicted officials has disclosed the important fact that most of the bribery was traced to aldermen who were members of executive committees. Side-track privileges were purchased from the railway committee, and other executive committees with similar powers were involved in similar acts. This is a strong argument in favor of the elimination of executive powers from the Council, and of placing it where responsibility is less scattered, and therefore more sharply accentuated and easily ascertained. There is no doubt that bad men will seek election to the Council for the sake of trafficking in the executive powers of such committees until the necessary changes are made. The charters of our American cities are extremely complicated, and the whole system is favorable to the concealment of wrong-doing, and necessitates great difficulty and expense, and great loss of time, in the effort to determine where responsibility for corruption lies and who the guilty parties are. The time would, therefore, appear to be at hand for a renewed effort for charter reform and for

the adoption of the new municipal program of the National Municipal League.

"The former Municipal Association of this city made an effort for charter reform by presenting a carefully drafted bill to the Legislature several years ago. We were regarded as visionary; the politicians were against us, and many excellent citizens still clung to the fetich that reform can only be accomplished "in the party." It will soon be realized that party influence in city affairs is only consistent with a very narrow and usually only apparent and temporary measure of reform. I very much hope such prejudices have nearly wholly died out. In any event, it is quite likely that members of the State Civil Service Reform Association will offer the charter reform bill, above referred to, to the next Legislature, and make a resolute effort to secure its passage.

"I cannot close this letter without making reference to the foreign voter as a factor in Milwaukee politics, and I am glad to be able to say that he is inclined to think when he votes, but, naturally, he does not always think successfully. He was for a long time the confiding dupe of Mayor Rose, who was elected for four successive terms and was the most demoralizing public servant, in spite of his ability, that we have ever had. The foreign citizen justified the reputation which I have given him at the recent election by helping us to get rid of our perennial mayor. The fact remains, however, that neither the native-born nor the foreign-born citizen is sufficiently informed as to his political duty and the nature of the government under which he lives. I would therefore like to suggest that thorough instruction in the science of city government and the principles of the merit system ought to be given in the high schools and in the upper grades of the ward schools to hasten the development of the thoroughly good and effective citizenship upon which indisputably good government must always depend."

From Richard Henry Dana, Boston.

"If I can come down I should like, at some of the informal conferences, to have a chance to talk about the higher appointed municipal officers under civil service reform as a practical and important measure."

From Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville.

Honest Elections.

"Nothing interests me more at this time than the question of honest elections and how to bring them about. False registrations, repeaters at registration and at elections, and gross irregularities on election day are the vital obstacles to all municipal reform. We have had all of these things to contend with here; we have had fine organization to off-set the plans of the tricksters, but in spite of it all we were counted out. We are waiting to see how we will fare in the courts, where we have taken the contest."

From Percy N. Booth, Louisville.

"In Louisville we are particularly interested in the question of how to get fair elections. Without fair elections reform of the public service is impossible. Our last election was a riot under the auspices of our saloonkeepers, our police and firemen, the local criminal classes in general and imported thugs from your own fair city of Cincinnati and elsewhere. I am sending you a copy of our petition in equity contesting said election and stating the facts in reference thereto. As soon as Louisville gets the

chance to hire her own servants she can begin the task of improving other civic conditions with some hope that the results achieved will endure."

From Farnham Yardley, East Orange, N. J.

"In our city, which is almost exclusively a residential community, the problem that we have to contend with is the apathetic condition of the citizens relative to municipal affairs. The men do not read the local papers as a rule, and the New York papers, which they do read, contain little or nothing, and the result is that the majority of the voters are in ignorance as to what transpires in the city government. I trust that the point will be raised as to what means should be used to enlighten or interest the citizens."

From Hon. James M. Head, Nashville.

"It occurs to me that the most important and essential feature connected with the success of municipal government in the various cities of the country is the principle of local self-government. It occurs to me that until this principle, upon which our whole governmental system rests, is more fully realized and practiced, our municipal government can never be managed successfully. I will not undertake to elaborate this idea further than to say that it occurs to me that the tendency of legislation on this subject, during the past ten or fifteen years, has been directed in opposition to this idea."

Local Self-Government.

From William P. Bancroft, Wilmington.

"It seems to me probable that there might be much advantage from the whole or a portion of the members of councils being elected "at large," as proposed in the National Municipal League's Municipal Program. I would suggest that some of those who were active in formulating that program shall be asked to take part in the discussion of this matter."

From W. F. Wahl, Atlantic City.

"Our affliction is boss rule, and in the wake of that follows wholesale disregard of taxpayers' rights, misappropriation of city's moneys, both by incompetency and dishonesty of men in office.

"Our problems are, how to awaken public sentiment sufficiently strong to inaugurate an independent movement to overthrow this corrupt power, and to establish in its place honest government for the best interest of the people.

"I feel convinced that only by public sentiment in the right direction can boss rule be overthrown."

From C. S. DeForest, New Haven.

"1. Concentration of official responsibility in municipal government: How far is it wise to carry this principle? What have been some of the results of its application, especially in the administration of police departments?

"2. The principle of 'home rule' for the municipality: Does not civic betterment primarily depend upon making the municipality more independent of state interference?

"3. Non-partisanship in municipal administration: Is it an iridescent dream and only to be used in specific cases of need, as some contend, or is it practical as a fundamental permanent principle?

"4. The teaching of civics in school and college as applied to the study of city government: In what form can it be taught? Correlated to this would be the training of college students for active participation in broad movements for civic betterment."

FROM GEORGE MCANENY, NEW YORK.

"If time permitted I should be inclined to bring up the matter of the better development of the civil service system in the municipal organization—the extension of its principles to positions of every class and grade, and improvement in the character of the tests employed so as to permit their practical application to *all* such positions. I am especially interested in the working of the merit system in the methods of appointment, promotion, removal, and the general routine of discipline in police administration. We have had a great deal of experience in New York during the past year or two in the latter respect, some of which possibly might be of interest."

FROM DR. L. G. POWERS, WASHINGTON.

"There are many questions in which I am interested, as an individual, that I would like to have discussed at such conferences as those to be held under the designation "Round Table Conferences." The most prominent are those associated with the municipal ownership and operation of public utility plants.

"As a public official whose work of collecting municipal statistics touches upon the accounts of cities and relates itself to the program of the Municipal League, I am officially interested only in the methods of keeping accounts of cities. We have had a number of cities, large and small, introduce the so-called revenue system of accounts, substituting the same for the accounts upon a cash basis. As the statistician engaged in collecting these statistics of cities and putting them in a comparable form, as well as an individual, I would like to have a discussion from as many differing points of view as possible of the advantages and disadvantages of such rival systems of accounts. I do not care so much for having accountants discuss the matter at the present time as I do men of the several cities interested, who will tell us what questions relate to municipal administration and civic problems they can find most readily answered in reports arranged on the revenue basis, and what they can better find in our reports arranged along their lines. To make the matter more explicit, I would like to know how many people in Ohio, examining the uniform report prepared for the cities under the direction of the state board of uniform accounting, can get more out of their report than they can out of the Chicago report or other reports, like Pawtucket, R. I., and Rochester, N. Y., arranged upon a revenue basis; and how many find something in these last mentioned that they cannot find in the report of Ohio cities, or such reports as that of Cambridge, Mass., Baltimore, Md., and St. Louis, Mo. I would like to have business men in the cities last mentioned state what they can find in their reports bearing upon the problems which are to be before the League that cannot be found by them, at least as readily, in the reports of Chicago and cities having that class of accounts. This is now a living question—or will be at an early date. The only persons who have been heard relating to this question are accountants. The real test of these reports must be in the information which they furnish to the general public, or to the average man, for it is only as we bring the judgment of the average man into the field relating to municipal statistics and municipal accounts that we have the proper checks upon public administration. Now that

these reports are before the public I would most earnestly desire to hear from the business men who have been using these several forms of improved reports, in order that the influence of the League—whatever it is—may, after this intelligent discussion, be brought to bear in the right lines for the most improved system of accounts."

FROM A. B. PECKINPAUGH, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

"I desire to say that there are two questions which, just at this time, are occupying the attention of this department in regard to municipal affairs: First, the question of a proper general ledger to be kept by the auditing department of cities, and second, the best system for procuring an accurate check upon the receipts of municipal industries. We would be very glad to receive any information which would tend to produce the best results in these respects."

FROM CHARLES RICHARDSON, PHILADELPHIA.

"We have long since recognized the national parties as dangerous intruders in our municipal households. We have watched, and described, and photographed them as criminals. We have begged them to be good and to steal as little as possible. We have even tried to hobble them or to close a door here and there where our most valuable goods seemed especially attractive. In fact, we have done almost everything except to ask ourselves, Why should we not just simply turn them out and let them confine themselves to national issues and national contests?"

FROM ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR., BOSTON.

"As a subject for discussion at a Round Table Conference, I suggest the analytical comparison of the methods of the different civic leagues and an estimate of their comparative values. The first two points are less important, their organization and management, and yet their relation to the business associations, their dependence upon them for financial support, effect the third question—their policy. Is the proper cry, 'Men, not measures'? Is mere 'honesty' of government the desideratum, or should positive measures be advocated? Should candidates be pledged? How best can the League get into touch with the people, represent them all and gain their confidence?

"These questions have arisen in connection with leagues existing or being formed in Massachusetts. The experience of leagues in other cities should throw light upon the probable answers."

FROM C. H. INGERSOLL, SOUTH ORANGE, N. J.

"My belief is that the most crying subject of municipalities is that of home rule, *i. e.*, freedom from the constitutional circumscription that exists in the states generally.

"As an immediate matter, however, I have given much attention to municipal lighting plants, and discovered to my surprise that there are a thousand now in operation in the United States, and believe that this fact alone indicates this as one of the most active practicable questions for municipalities to consider.

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* During Prof. Rowe's absence in South America as a representative of the United States at the Pan-American Conference, Dr. Pierson will serve as Acting Chairman of this Committee.

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